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XVI

JANE BELO

BALI: RANGDA AND BARONG

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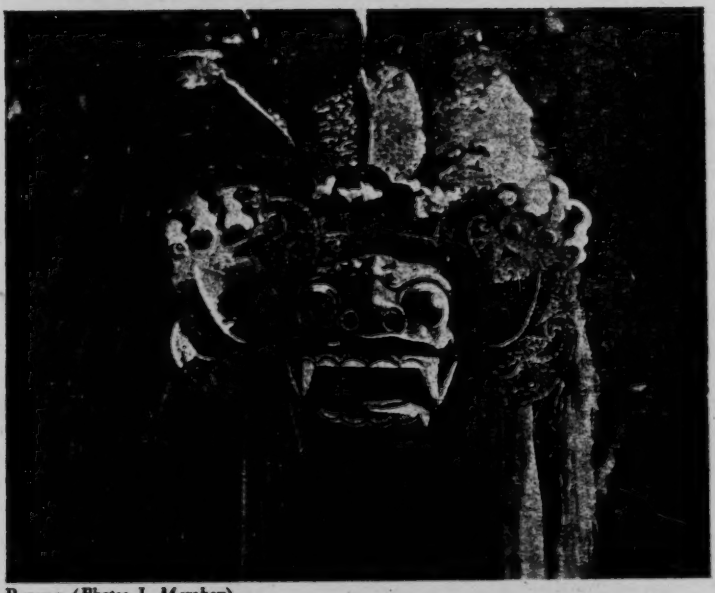
Rangda



Barong (*Photos J. Mershon*)

Frontispiece
[facing p. iii]

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Acknowledgments

The material on which this paper is based was collected in Bali, Netherlands East Indies, during the period between 1931 and 1939, before the Japanese occupation. Because of world events in the period which has followed, it has seemed advisable to change the names of informants and subjects. Place names and dates of ceremonials have been left unchanged.

During the latter part of the period of residence in Bali the author did field work under the supervision of and in close collaboration with Dr. Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson. For their assistance, interest, training, and encouragement I am deeply grateful.

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CHAPTER ONE

BALINESE SOCIETY

To write of Bali, of Balinese society, is not like writing of a primitive society. It is not like a simple piece of whole cloth, to work out the pattern of which it would be sufficient to study the various strands and their interweaving. Balinese society has a number of patternings, which are overlayed upon each other, which are often conflicting, often confusing to the observer for the inconsistencies they necessarily entail. There are no simple, forthright rules which are consistently held to from village to village; there are no hard and fast boundaries of conduct and belief separating off one caste division from another, one social stratum from another, one status from another. It is a society which is both segmented and stratified—and yet to apply to it classificatory terms invented for the description of industrialized western Europe would be meaningless, even misleading. Likewise, to expect to be able to derive from the data on the structure and function of any single group, a geographical unit, a caste unit, a temporal grouping, general principles which would apply throughout the whole, as we could reasonably hope to do for a primitive society, would be equally meaningless and perhaps even more misleading.

There is nonetheless in the Balinese social picture a very definite character, a special Balineseness, which, I believe, carries through the culture at all levels and in all the varieties of its patternings. It is with this character that we are concerned, its psychological makeup, its cultural makeup, its historical antecedents, its ecological setting. To place what is to be said in its social context, it will be necessary first to sketch the nature of the Balinese society.

In Bali today, we can distinguish a number of levels of development, which, though they refer to different periods of the past, coexist in the present. They illustrate, as it were, different strata in the social and historical process. Thus one can still find in the remote mountain areas village communities which bear a strong resemblance to the known patterns of Old Indonesian community organization, common in the simpler cultures throughout the archipelago. One finds throughout Bali named, hereditary guild-caste membership (*pandé*, smith; *pasek*, warrior or guardian), which,

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it is assumed, antedates the introduction of the Hindu four caste system. The three top castes of the Hinduistic system, Brahmana, Satrya, and Vesya, maintain a feudal order of their own in the areas which they inhabit, referring to the rest of the population as *djaba*, outsiders.[1] At the time of the Dutch conquest in 1906 Bali was ruled by seven kings, called *radja* or *dalem*, who made war upon each other or formed alliances, whichever seemed more to their interest.

Up until the time of the Japanese conquest, in 1942, there had been almost no talk of the abolition of caste, and this only in the towns, Boeleleng and Den Pasar, where Javanese, Arabs, so called "Bombay" merchants, and the Chinese formed a mixed population. Today, contemporaneously with the friction in political circles centering in Java, there appears to carry through a certain continuity in the role of caste and its significance in the society. At the present time the head of the eastern division of the government, whose seat is in Macassar, Celebes, is a Balinese of the very highest princely rank, a *tjokorda;* a man who was educated in Holland, speaks Dutch and English perfectly, has a French wife, and was before the war the representative for Bali at the people's parliament, the *Volksraad*, at Batavia, Java.

The history of the relations of Bali with Java, and through Java with the rest of Indonesia, can be summed up as follows.

11th century. The century is marked by the first recorded intermarriage of the royal houses of Java and Bali. King Erlangga, famed in legend, was the son of a Javanese princess and a Balinese *radja*. Through his mother he inherited the Javanese kingdom of Kadiri, which afterward split. Sivaite and Buddhist priesthoods were strong at this time, and, according to legend, the holy men were able to cross over the narrow straits between Java and Bali "riding on a leaf." However this may be, it is clear that communications were established at this time.

14th century. The great kingdom of Madjapahit in Java included Bali. When this kingdom fell before the advance of the Mohammedans, refugees from the top level of the Javanese social structure crossed over to Bali. Priests, princes, courtiers, skilled artisans, artists, musicians, dancers, all the literate and the wise who could be saved, escaped to Bali and set up there the stronghold of Hinduism which has resisted Islamization and Christianization down to the present day. In Bali "Madjapahit" is a word to conjure with; everything which is traditionally held in high esteem is referred to as Madjapahit, or

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Majapahit, as the corruption has it. Balinese trace their ancestry to Madjapahit as Americans do to the Pilgrim Fathers. Thousands of temples have shrines named Madjapahit, usually ornamented with the carved head of a deer. Perhaps 90 per cent of the Balinese who give offerings at these temples do not know what the name stands for in historical fact.

14th century to 1906. This was a period of little interchange between Java, a Mohammedanized country, and Bali, which remained Hinduistic. Some trade relations were maintained, chiefly through the intermediacy of the Chinese. All currency in Bali was Chinese cash. Bali, a rich rice producing country, traded its surplus rice to the Chinese for gold, which was in turn beaten up to make golden flowers for the headdresses of children and gold leaf ornamentation for orchestral instruments and ceremonial objects. The "culture system" by which the colonials attempted to modify the agricultural output of Java was not introduced in Bali. With the exception of a small Dutch garrison maintained in the north of the island, Bali was free of European influence, virtually unsubjugated.

1906 *to* 1908. The Dutch, making an incident of the looting of a Chinese vessel which was wrecked on the south shore, landed troops in order to bring the island under control. It was at this time that the famous encounter took place, in which a number of the nobility and their followers marched out in the face of Dutch guns and committed mass suicide, turning their sacred krisses upon themselves. Of the seven ruling kings in Bali, two who resisted were deposed, but close relatives of theirs were installed as regents, so that the continuity of the hereditary ruling line in the several kingdoms was not broken. *Radjas* who capitulated retained their rank, also with the status of regents. Indirect rule was set up, the Dutch official rule linking the island with the administrative center at Batavia, Java.

1908 *to* 1942. Though Bali was now a part of the Netherlands Indies' *Binnenland Bestuur* (Interior Administration), the feeling between Java and Bali continued rather distant. Balinese tended even towards the end of this period, in the 1930's, to look upon Javanese with suspicion. Probably the greatest chasm between these neighboring peoples was the difference in food habits laid down in the differing religions. The Javanese did not eat pig, a favorite Balinese food and one of the chief export products. Dutch ships carrying Balinese pigs

[1] Belo, 1936, p. 12.

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for export sailed to Singapore, bypassing Java, because of the Moslem pig scruple. Javanese, on the other hand, tended to look on the Balinese as boors, a people with a distantly related heritage which might have allowed them to become as "refined" (*aloes*) as the Javanese, but who somehow missed. This sense of distance remained although Balinese students who reached the higher educational levels under the school system were transferred to Java to pursue their studies in normal and professional schools. An *Anak Bali* (Balinese) was still very different from an *Anak Djawa* (Javanese) though they had learned to speak a common language and read the same books—about as different as a Frenchman from an Italian, though not as different as a Frenchman from a German. At a conference on Balinese culture arranged by the Java Institute in 1937, Javanese scholars and princes looked with mild interest and amusement for the first time at Balinese versions of the same legends and themes the Javanese perform, while the Balinese comment was "the Javanese style is so slow we go to sleep."

February 21, 1942 *to March* 2, 1946. During the period of the invasion and occupation by Japanese forces, Balinese resources were depleted to supply Japanese troops; food, clothing, and building materials became very scarce. Japanese propaganda fed in at this time stressed the "Asia for the Asiatics" theme in an attempt to consolidate the feeling of Balinese, Javanese, and other Indonesians to bring them together in a revolt against European influence. It appears that only a few of the younger Balinese in the urban centers found this propaganda to their taste, while the majority tended to consider any proposed Javanization an affront to their religion and an attempt to abolish the caste system about which their whole real and symbolic life is structured. In other words, Balinese responded to Japanese proselyting as they had in former years to any attempts to Mohammedanize or Christianize them, by a reiteration of their desire to be themselves and to preserve their own way of life. Nonetheless, political unrest stirred up at this time created, with the introduction of political factions, a closer tie with Java than had been present under the more peaceable Netherlands' rule.

1946 *to* 1948. After an initial period of chaos, during which the Japanese authorities were no longer present and new authorities had not yet been established, political strife was at its peak, and the action of the young Republican leaders in Java carried reverberations to Bali. To remove the eastern islands from the political impasse in which divided Java found itself, the Dutch forged a new administrative

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center in the island of Celebes, setting up the Balinese prince, Tjokorda Soekawati, at its head and giving him the most skillful and highly trained administrative advisers as assistants. Under this system the complex society of Bali continues to function more or less unchanged, the village autonomy is maintained, the customary law carries through from the past.

Land Ownership. The basic unit of Balinese society, the village unit, has a number of forms, each of which may be referred to a period of history at which, we assume, the form as we find it today was common. The village communities fall into three main types.[3]

1. The old style villages, known as *Bali Aga* villages, show to a greater or less extent Old Indonesian patterns of social organization. Here there is no caste. Generally there is a dual organization, headed by old men. Arrangements for superannuation are provided for in the *adat* (customary law). These villages, comparatively small, follow the pattern most usual for a community of any size or type in Bali: a central compact village divided into individual house courts, and beyond the village outlying fields which are worked by the individual families.

2. In other village communities one or more of the three upper castes are represented, while the majority of the population is casteless. The proportion may run 2 or 3 per cent people with caste to 98 or 97 per cent casteless, or it may be as much as 20 or 30 per cent composed of high caste families, with correspondingly fewer of the ordinary, casteless Balinese making up the total. The ranking village members may be of Brahmana, Satrya, or Vesya caste. The casteless refer to themselves as *Anak Bali* (Balinese people) and as "followers" or "subjects" of the dominant families.

3. Towns are made up of people of caste, the casteless, and foreigners. Generally a town is the capital of the district, seat of the regional government and the palace of the local prince. It is distinguished from the usual village by a street of foreign owned shops and a larger, better supplied market.

It is customary to subdivide communities of all three of these types into *bandjars*, equivalent to wards in American cities or to the Mexican *barrios*. These *bandjars* are spatial divisions, each with a character and a name of its own. They are held together rather loosely as to social organization but linked with many kinship ties, religious ties (being members of the same village temple, for example) and very often by dramatic, dancing, and

[3] For a discussion of the importance of the village community in the whole Indonesian area see *Adat Law in Indonesia* by B. ter Haar edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller.

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music clubs formed by the villagers. Roughly speaking, the larger the village or town, the greater the strength of the *bandjar* unit as a collective unit; and the smaller the village or town, the stronger the village or community unit (*desa* or *kota*) of which the relatively small number of *bandjars* make up the constituent parts. To give a more concrete instance, in a village of 1000, of which 500 belong to one *bandjar* and 500 to another, it is the village unit which is of primary importance and the *bandjar* unit of secondary importance. In a city of 10,000, which may be subdivided into twenty odd *bandjars*, it is the *bandjar* unit which functions cooperatively, whose members act together.

In such groups, artistic skill and ability override caste divisions. Leadership is shunned in favor of a more equalitarian regime. Satrya prince and Brahmana priest take part as equals with the rest of the village group in staging performances, rehearsing new plays or new musical compositions. Their official functions are, in these situations, laid aside.

Village groups can and do act as a unit, sharing responsibility. In one instance which I witnessed a village group had apprehended a stranger, an escaped criminal for whom an alarm had been sent out. When the man resisted, the villagers, whether wittingly or unwittingly, killed him, and every man of the village struck this stranger a blow so that when the authorities came to investigate all would be guilty together, or none.

The "head" of a village group is often merely an intermediary who represents the village to the higher authority, which may be regarded by the people as either the feudal authority of the caste system or that of some alternative system. For administrative purposes the regional divisions have not changed; the ancient kingdoms were perpetuated under Dutch rule as districts, and, after the period of the Japanese occupation, they remain the same.

In the village unit, as in the larger administrative units, there is a tendency to regard the "headship" as hereditary, and a man who has been *kapala kampoeng* (Malay, head of compound) or *prebekel* (village official) is often succeeded by his son or a younger brother, not because the office is something to be desired but because the family concerned are assumed to have the "know how" in dealing with the "higher ups." Even in some of the old style villages like Tenganan which preserve many features of Old Indonesian organization, the family of the *prebekel*, without Hinduistic caste, maintains an hereditary authoritarian position in dealing with the outside world, and this, no doubt, has been a strong factor in the preservation of the old ways into modern times.

The most usual pattern of land ownership is, as a result of the strong

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pattern of land ownership is, as a result of the most usual 7 621
village organization, or better, village feeling, that of the central compact 423
village divided into individual family house courts with gardens, and beyond the village outlying fields which are also worked by the individual families. The fields are passed down by heredity in the male line but may not be [428]
alienated; they may not be bought by a foreigner or even by the member of an adjoining village. When a house court falls empty it is filled by members of the family, and there are almost always sons waiting to get a village site when the old people die off. Only if there is a family line which [425]
comes to an end, an exceedingly rare occurrence, do the village site and the portion of the fields worked by the family come up for sale to outsiders. Land so held is called *petjatoe*. Two other types of holding are commonly spoken of, the *tetamian*, "inheritance land," and *labaan*, "temple land." *Tetamian* is the type customarily owned by members of the higher castes; it is generally passed on in the male line, too, but, in contrast to village lands, can be sold or mortgaged. The third sort, *labaan*, is land held in common by members of a temple group for the support of the temple and its priest. Very often these lands do not suffice for the prescribed offerings and the support of the priest (*pemangkoe*), and the deficit has to be made up by the temple members by carefully allotted contributions.

It is commonly said, and the feeling is certainly there, that all the land [776]
in Bali belongs to the gods and that a man only is privileged to work the lands during his lifetime, "asking for rice," as the saying is. A new born child is said to have come to "ask for rice," and he is put through the [782]
motions of obeisance to the gods, from whose world he is thought of as but recently arrived, in order to obtain their benevolence and goodwill, for himself and his family, in enjoying the fruits of the earth which they graciously allow him.

Religion. Since ancestors are merged with gods, there is no contradiction 769
to the Balinese in the hereditary system of land ownership and the phrasing of it as "belonging to the gods."

Indeed the theme of what is known as ancestor worship is the strongest part of the Balinese religion. It is the basis upon which their version of [778]
Hinduism rests. Temples are sacred sites, walled enclosures containing many shrines, and the chief of these is to the Original Ancestor and his Consort (*Sanggah Kemoelan*, Shrine of the Beginning, which, the priest will tell you, is equivalent to Siva). In every house court is a family ancestral shrine, a tiny temple walled off from the rest of the house in its own enclosure, the holiest ground. Villages have as a rule three main temples, the Village Temple, the Temple of Death (sacred to the memory of the Dead Kings), and the Temple of Origin. The Temple of Death (*Poera Dalem*) is

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thus only the ancestral temple of the ruling *radja's* ancestors, to whom the villagers owe allegiance, or of the ancestors of some former king, to whom their ancestors owed allegiance. Through the Hinduistic background of their princes the people have received the heritage of Hinduism. But it is rather a thin layer spread over their older religious practices and beliefs.

The names of the chief deities of Hinduism, Siva, Brahma, Vishnu, Iswara, are known to them and are heard in the priestly formulas and in prayers the priests recite, but they are not, even after 500 years, very closely held in the hearts of the people, they are not endowed with personalities, not intimately prayed to. On the other hand, the prescribed ceremonials and the regular, calendric giving of offerings to propitiate the gods are very strictly held to. The way the temple membership is set up in the village organization, it is impossible, and unthinkable, to abstain from participation in the calendric services.

The abode of the gods is the sacred mountain of Bali, the Goenoeng Agoeng. The god of this mountain is a male, and his wife is the sacred lake, the Danau Batoer. The mountain is thought of both as a god and as a site, the home of the Hinduistic gods, who return there after they have been down to manifest their presences in the temples at the time of festival. There is in Hindu mythology, too, a sacred mountain, Mount Meru, on which is situated the Heaven of Indra, *Swarga*. This Hinduistic Olympus is placed by European scholars as originally "some mountain north of the Himalayas."[1] It is characteristic of Balinese Hinduism that the Balinese mountain, Goenoeng Agoeng, should have become identified with Mount Meru, that, in fact, the whole sacred function of the mythological mountain of the Hindus should have been transposed to Bali and set down, as it were, on the site of the center and peak of Balinese holiness.

Priestly functions. In the old style villages the priestly functions are fulfilled by the old, top ranking men, the ***kebajan*** and ***kebaoe,*** in the dual organization, and occasionally by a ***balian,*** a priest or priestess, who may be a member of the village or called from outside the village. ***Balians*** are knowledgeable, have a store of rituals and formulas chiefly borrowed from the Hinduistic and Buddhistic ceremonial, and often practice by going into trance in order to ascertain the gods' will. They may serve, alternatively, for curing the sick, finding lost objects, setting up communications with the other world by divining the gods' will or by impersonating them. Another sort of specialist who may be called in is the ***sengguhu*** priest, also casteless except as regards the older guild castes, who derives his title from the conch

[1] Dowson, 1928, "Mount Meru."

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shell he blows, who knows about rituals and offerings, but who does not as a rule go into trance. [793]

In the usual Balinese village, type 2 above, the priestly function is performed by the *pemangkoe* of each temple, who may be a commoner or a man of Hinduistic caste. He is in charge of the temple, performs the calendrical rituals, dedicates offerings, recites prayers in a mixture of Old Language and Sanskrit slokas, and officiates at household rites de passage, babies' festivals, weddings, birthdays, and the like. He is rather contemptuously referred to by the higher caste priesthood as "sweeper," and in ceremonial trance-talk in the temple festivals "*djero sapoeh*" (sweeper) refers to this priest.

In areas where Brahmana high priests (*pedanda, peranda*) exist they may be called upon to officiate at temple festivals or at private occasions, but their services are in no sense necessary except for the people of high caste. They are often very learned men and women who can read and write Sanskrit with ease, know the old literature, the long elaborate rituals, and the prescriptions for this or that ceremonial, and practice a spiritual discipline directly in the Hinduistic tradition, with fasting, prayer, trance, contemplation, and the cultivation of an inner spiritual power which accompanies their learning and gives them the necessary authority over the people who turn to them for advice. Their study is so intensive that it is rare that a *pedanda* can be ordained before he reaches the age of forty. He has two or three disciples who study with him, whom he attempts to train to carry on in his place after his death. Among these disciples may be a son, but sons are not forced to study for the priesthood unless they show a special aptitude for it. On the other hand, the wife of the high priest learns the lore, the prayers, and the prescribed offerings and is considered the equal and female counterpart of him, able to take his place if he predeceases her. She can officiate at any occasion where his services would have been required and fulfills all functions except, I believe, that of inducting the young into Hinduistic learning. In any case, I never heard of a *pedanda istri* (literally high priest wife) with disciples. So long as she survives her husband she officiates in his stead, and it is only after her death that a son may be ordained. [869] [562]

Buddhistic high priests, *pedanda boda*, exist in Bali alongside the Sivaite, though there are far fewer of them. Their "followers" ask them to officiate at the same occasions at which Sivaite high priests are called upon by their "followers," and this relationship appears to be hereditary. The rituals of the two sorts of practitioner are amazingly like. On very rare occasions, such

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as the great festival at Bali's head temple, Besakih, both Sivaite and Buddhist high priests may be present and officiating simultaneously.

Temples. Temples in Bali are sites rather than buildings. They are places where the supernatural is dealt with. Often prescriptions for giving offerings will run "at temple A, at temple B, at temple C, at the crossroads, at the graveyard, at the market place, at the spring . . ." Temples consist of one or more courtyards, open to the sky, surrounded by a wall, and containing small shrines and buildings. These buildings are known as *balé*, the very old Malayo-Polynesian word for house (*balé*, Balinese, house, raised platform, platform covered with a roof, place for ceremonial seating; cf. contemporary Polynesian, *falé*, house; contemporary Malay, *balai*, hall of audience). There are *balés* for the setting out of the gods, for the preparation and laying out of offerings, for the orchestra. There is also, in every temple, a kitchen (*paon*). The space immediately outside the gate of the outermost court is a broad cleared space, called the *djaban poera* (outside of the temple) which is ceremonially important. It is here that the "reception of the gods" and the "send off of the gods" take place at festival time. It is here that offerings are spread for demons so that they will remain without and not enter the temple courts. It is here that cock fights are held, ceremonially important for the spilling of blood. And the secular dances and dramatic plays which accompany the calendric festivals are staged in this outer space, often in the shade of an enormous banyan tree (*waringin, bingin*).

In the inner court, a line of greater and smaller shrines are arranged close to the rearmost wall and down one or both sides. Though the priest is able to give the names of the Hinduistic gods or the historically known personages to whom these shrines have at one time or another been erected, the people who give offerings at the temple are often not able to. Or the names given will be simple Balinese terms like "He who owns the courtyard" (*Medocwé Karang*). If it is, or has been, a court temple, there will be shrines for the various court officials such as The Secretary (*Penjarikan*), and The Recorder of Births (*Ngeroerah*). It is believed that the throne to the Sun (*Surya*), which is generally set across the corner of the court to the holiest side, mountainward east (*kadja kangin*), the other buildings being squarely and not transversely arranged, may have been added to the temples at a later date than their founding. In many it is absent. It would be possible at any time for a new shrine to be added in the temple simply by someone's going into trance and uttering the gods' wish for the new shrine to be set up. It has been remarked that, if Jesus Christ should come to Bali, the Balinese would put up one more shrine to Him in their temples.

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In the old style villages with dual organization, the chief buildings in the temple court are the long, beautifully proportioned *balé agoeng*, often a pair, parallel with each other, called right (*kiwa*) and left (*tengen*). Here the ceremonial seating and feast of the council of elders takes place. They are seated then in two long rows facing each other, according to rank (seniority), and "balancing" the two sides of the village. At times a second duality is introduced by having the ceremonial seating in the left hand *balé agoeng* at dark moon (*tilem*), in the right hand building at full moon (*poernama*). This duality theme may recur in contemporary ritual where it is not apparent in social organization.

Godly Representations. When we pass from these old style villages to the more usual type, we may find remains and reminders of this old organization. There may be a *balé agoeng* though the council of elders and the dual organization no longer exist. There may be a ceremonial "seating of elders," that is people who go into trance as a rule, spokesmen of the gods. The thing which carries through from this old style organization to the rituals of the more modern villages and those which have come under Hinduistic caste influence, is the ceremonial feast at which these old people take part *representing* the gods. The evidence of the godly presence is in the sacramental meal offered to the gods in their persons, the food which they do not eat and the rice wine which they pour out in libation on the ground. "If the gods are pleased, they will come down," say the Balinese. If trance occurs, those who speak with the voices of the gods give further evidence that communications between the living and the inhabitants of above (*ring locwoer*), deities and ancestral spirits of dead kings and their courts, are set up and maintained. The gods are to be propitiated, their protection invoked, their will to be done.

Balinese people the world above and the world in which they live with vast hordes of demons (*kala*), evil spirits (*tonja*), and witchlike spirits (*léjak*) who follow the gods about, come to the feast which is spread for the gods, and are likely to devour all the offerings prepared for the gods before the gods have a chance at them. For these demonic hordes special offerings are therefore made and set outside the temple on a temporary rough shrine or on the ground. The people describe these demons as the rough, uncouth servitors of the gods, who are sure to accompany them and to be extraordinarily hungry, just as such servitors would come accompanying a prince if he came on a visit.

The one power which can hold at bay these demonic hordes is the *Barong*, a holy masked figure of a lion or tiger, played by two men, who dances around the village and around the outside of the temple to protect it. As

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Bateson puts it, the *Barong* clears space.[4] He is thought of as King of the Demons, and he alone can keep them under control.

Witchlike spirits (*lĕjak*), on the other hand, are under the power of the Queen of the Witches, *Rangda*, another sacred mask, which is played by one man. In the temples this mask is often set up on or near a shrine, is given offerings, and if someone goes into trance may be put on and danced as a godly impersonation of this Evil Female. Late at night she will call her "followers," the *lĕjaks*, who come at her bidding to perform all sorts of horrors, dig up corpses, eat babies, bring pestilence and famine to the village. Only by propitiating her—and perhaps the enacting of the part serves as an acknowledgement of her power—can these evil and more earthly powers be held in check.

The Balinese dramatize these two aggressive and destructive forces, that of the rough, greedy, quarrelsome demons and that of the uncanny, devouring, deathly *lĕjaks*, by the mask play in which the *Barong* and *Rangda* appear as antagonists. The battle is enacted and reenacted. No one ever wins. What happens is that dozens of villagers, aroused by the excitement held incarnate in these two figures and by the stylized interplay between them, go into trance, go through patterned behavior in a somnambulistic state, attack the Witch with their krisses, are revived by the *Barong*, attack their own chests with their krisses, and preferably work themselves to a climax, a true convulsive seizure of hysterical order. After such a performance everyone goes home feeling perfectly great and at peace with the world.

There can be no doubt that certain tensions and anxieties set up in the Balinese by the restraints, the fears, and the general inhibitory patterning of their emotional life are relieved by these outbursts.[5] Bateson and Mead in their analysis of Balinese character go a step further, relating the specific trance performances described here to early child training, seeing in the *Barong* a father image, in the *Rangda* the image of the teasing, unsatisfying mother, and in the convulsive seizure a repetition of infantile tantrums. Their theory is open to challenge if it is seen as offering the key to the whole of Balinese character structure. In any case, we can bear it in mind for it is certainly thought provoking, though not likely to be understood by those without some training in psychoanalytic theory as well as in cultural anthropology.

Age Grading. The division into age grades is not that frequently found in primitive societies but tends to be rather as follows.

[4] Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 188.
[5] Belo, 1935, pp. 143-144.

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1. Infants. New born infants are regarded as close to the gods, and there is no special differentiation as to sex. All children up to the age of losing their first teeth, *tonden meketoes*, are thought of in this particularly holy category.

2. Children. Small men, *anak tjenik*, are children of any age up until they reach the age and maturity to be able to take on adult's work.

3. Men and Women. Adolescence is institutionalized in some of the old style villages, where the *troena*, virgin boys, and *daka*, virgin girls, have a specific role to play in ritual, but on the whole this distinction has dropped out of the organization of the usual village. Boys and adult men and old men perform the same function in ceremonial, classed under the heading of males, *anak moewani;* young girls and matrons and old crones dance in the same temple dances and prepare the same offerings, under the heading of females, *anak loeh*.

4. Old People. Only the very old, those who are too old to work, to serve as the head of the household in the case of a man, are spoken of as grandfather, *pekak*, or grandmother, *dadong*. The toothless old are thought of as near to small children, and the transition through death and disintegration and back into life again in the form of a new babe is a conception readily acceptable and universally held. The great difference from the Hinduistic orthodox position is that the Balinese as a people do not believe that a soul may be reborn into any but its own ancestral line: it must return within the family, and this precludes the notion of being reborn into a higher caste.

The absence of particularly marked puberty rites, initiation ceremonies and the like, such as are common in the whole of southeast Asia at a more primitive level of development, is of special interest for the reason that rites reminiscent of Borneo and New Guinea are still to be found in some old style villages (Troenjan or Trunyan,[6] for example, or again, Tenganan Pagringsingan[7]). In the more developed, more typical Balinese village the line is not drawn between young folk and older people on the point of virginity, for in fact premarital unions are the rule, and very often a marriage is not celebrated until the girl is pregnant. The ability to bear a child, preferably a son, is in this fashion assured. Whether marriages are arranged or are love matches, the change of status from unmarried to married is marked by the carrying off of the bride (*ngerorod*), a pattern which has come down from the past, actually an enactment of marriage by capture. Like our custom of carrying a bride over a doorstep, or of throwing rice at the bridal pair, the customs persist in the folk ways though their meaning has, to a

[6] Spies, 1933.
[7] Korn, 1933.

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great extent, been forgotten. Only on the symbolic level do they remain true and valid for the culture which practices them; they are the ways through which the underlying ethos of the culture is expressed, through which it lives and continues to perpetuate itself.

Every married pair may constitute a household, a *koeren*, the unit of the village or ward (*bandjar*). Usually, in a household of a number of children, one of the sons remains in the paternal house while the others move out and set up establishments of their own as they come to maturity and marry. The paternal house passes to the son who remains at home; as the old man reaches the age of superannuation it is this son who represents the household at the village meetings and who does the work apportioned by the village, the temple, the irrigation unit (*soebak*), or the higher authority of the district official government. It is characteristic of the Balinese system that it is the youngest son, not the eldest, who remains at home and inherits the father's house.

Age and Sex Typing. The Balinese have their own special view of the distinction between the sexes and of the differences or lack of differences between them at different times in the cycle of life. The most important point is the complementariness of the sexes, male and female together making up an entity, completing each other. Like the Chinese *yin* and *yang*, the theme male and female (*loeh moewani*) is endlessly repeated and recurrent in every context from the description of the gods to the terms for a carpenter's joining. But, beside this complementariness, there are areas where the distinction between the sexes seems quite irrelevant, the two sexes are interchangeable. Thus, though it is a patrilineal society, and a man must have a son to carry on his ancestral line, if he has no son, a daughter will do. The daughter then substitutes for the son. Various sorts of priestly functions may be carried out by women as well as by men; diviners, healers of one sort or another, godly spokesmen, all these are as likely to be male as female—the women have no monopoly here over hysterical manifestations. Little child dancers may be boys, or girls, or boys dressed as girls, or girls dressed as boys. There is a happy indeterminacy in all of these roles. In the very young, and in the very old, the difference in sex is of no consequence.

Only for purposes of mating is it felt necessary to keep the two sexes distinct. During the years of young courtship there is rather more emphasis on the difference between male and female. There are divisions of labor, between men's work and women's work, which serve to emphasize the difference as the skills are being acquired, but, once a young man and a young girl are married, they form a unit, a "household" (*koeren*) in which either one may act for the pair. They are like partners, of whom either one can

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represent the firm. For the temple, certain offerings are customarily prepared by men, others by women. But the work is shared out according to households; and if during the preparatory days the man is busy working in the rice fields, his wife may represent his household at the temple, or if she is busy at home, he may go in her stead. All the working of the village life is built up out of these household units, and it is for this reason almost unthinkable to remain unmarried. Bachelors and old maids are practically unknown.

When a child is born no special point is made as to whether it is a male or a female. It is like a little god, newly come from the heaven of the gods, perhaps an ancestor returned to earth. At three months it is taken for the first time to the temple to make its obeisance at the shrine of the Recorder of Births. From this time until the time of its losing its first teeth (*meketoes*), the child has a status of maximum innocence and purity; it is the nearest thing to a god which man may know. It is made much of and adored by both parents, whether it be male or female. After the age of six, the difference in occupation begins to effect a certain typing according to sex which was not evident up to that time. Little boys do herding of ducks and cattle in the fields, while little girls carry water and help their mothers in the household tasks.

When they begin to wear clothes, the *kamben* worn by boys and girls is almost identical, and, even among adult men and women, the difference between men's dress and women's dress is only a slight difference in the tying of the cloth or in the length to which it falls below the knee. Up until the last generation both men and women had long hair, and even today most priests still wear their hair long. In physical type, too, there is little difference between males and females. Both are slender and have relatively wide shoulders and narrow hips, a strong straight back, erect carriage, smooth muscles, and a smooth skin practically without body hair. The men have no beard, and their features do not differ markedly from the women's. It is not at all unusual to mistake a man for a woman, or a woman for a man, even at a few paces' distance.

This merging and indeterminacy of the sexes is to some extent offset by certain rules of behavior. For example, a man sits crosslegged, while a woman sits with both legs to one side. Or a man climbs coconut trees, a woman weaves. Thus, if it is impossible to tell whether a figure is male or female by looking at it, one may be able to tell by the way it is sitting or by what it is doing. And when we find, as we occasionally do, individuals who wish to be of the opposite sex, it is precisely by doing such things as climbing coconut trees or weaving that they express this wish.

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When men and women have passed through their age of maturity into old age, they reach again a period in which sex distinctions are of little consequence. This is the age at which everyone calls them grandfather (*pekak*) and grandmother (*dadong*) as terms of respect, when they are turned to for advice in the village, when they are powerful in the affairs of the family. At every temple festival one can see these old men and these old women, busy arranging everything as it should be, telling the younger folk where everything should go and what is missing and what comes next. They are lively and important and, for Balinese, play a dominant role regardless of whether they are male or female. Very often it is these old people who go into trance, dance, and give utterance as the gods' spokesmen.

In other parts of Indonesia one finds people with matrilineal social organization living in areas contiguous to people with patrilineal organization, such as, let us say, the matrilineal Minangkebau in Sumatra and their neighbors, the patrilineal Batak. In Bali, there is no trace of matrilineal organization. Instead, there is the possibility of the substitution of the female for the male. Though descent is reckoned in the male line, the family is to all intents and purposes bilateral. What is more, a man who has no sons but has a daughter may arrange for her a *sentana* marriage with a young man who will enter his household, renounce his own ancestral line, and become the "heir" to the ancestral line of his father-in-law. He then gives offerings at the house temple of his wife's ancestors, just as in the usual case the woman gives offerings after her marriage at the house temple of her husband's ancestors. This sort of marriage is thought of as an adoption and is an alternative to the adoption of a brother's son or a cousin's son in the necessary business of securing a child to carry on the patrilineal line.

This *sentana* marriage and the early adoption of children (*anak pekidih*, asked for child) are written into the *adat*, the customary law, and serve to illustrate how strong is the sense of the continuity of the family line, ancestor to adult to child, whether this continuity be achieved through male or through female blood lines. The emphasis is on the male side, and when relationship is traced through the female it is done substitutively, without any of the aura of matriliny and matriarchy about it, and casually, without very much of the patriarchal either. The old men, the elders of the villages with the more rigid, older social organization, come nearer to the patriarchal attitude than any one in the more modern villages of Bali, yet even here the wives may at times substitute for them in priestly functions. Male and female together, as an entity, is the idea which runs through the whole culture. If a woman acts, she acts as the representative of this entity,

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not as a female attempting to usurp a male role nor as a matriarch who tends to put the male in a position of subordination.

The question which is left unresolved in this analysis and which we will endeavor to explore is why the Witch figure in particular has aspects of senility, her long gray hair reaching to the ground and her pendulous breasts, together with the great tusks and the long hanging tongue suggesting the rapacious, aging female. The *Rangda* is old in a way that makes her more insatiable and more dangerous, in a way that the *Barong*, fierce and boisterous as he is, is not. There is a possibility that the quality of over age femaleness of this figure has a significance in the present which it had not in the past and which may be expressive of, indicative of, a phase of development in this particular culture.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE IDENTITY OF RANGDA AND BARONG

Who is Rangda? What is the meaning of this mythological figure, whose power is held transfixed in a wooden mask, whose power is on each ceremonial occasion reaffirmed and reincarnate in the body of the man who plays her? Half a god and half a witch, she stands close as death to the living people. She is there, real, tangible, within arm's reach, the manifestations of her being are imminent and intimate and fiercely urgent; yet she looms out of the past, enormous, threatening, trailing all sorts of inglorious clouds, an evil nature and an evil reputation.

We are not the first to ask this question. The answers proposed by the various authorities who have studied the problem are turned according to the special interests of their individual disciplines. Thus, to the archeologist and student of Eastern religion, Rangda is Durga, the wife of Siva in her dread aspect. To the historian, she is Queen Mahendradatta, a true character out of Indonesian history, mother of King Erlangga, the Balinese prince who became king in Java in 1019 A.D. To the student of theatre, she is the angry widow (literally, *rangda* means widow), a stock character in a series of plays current in the human and puppet theatre in Bali, the chief character of the classic *Tjalonarang* play. To the contemporary ethnologist, she is a mother figure,[1] an expression of the parent child relations peculiar to the culture and of the character of the adult as determined by those early relations. To the psychologist, she is Fear.[2]

It must not be assumed that these various claims upon Rangda's identity are mutually exclusive or would invalidate each other. Rather I would like to show, as we pass in review the arguments, the phrasings, and some factual data presented in favor of each of these points of view, that a mythological figure such as this Rangda may have in its make up a deeply complex, laminated structure, layers upon layers of meaning reaching down into the present out of a foggy or accurately recorded past, for the most part deeply

[1] Bateson and Mead, 1942.
[2] *Ibid.*

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comprehended but not articulately stated by the people whom it most directly concerns.

And I shall try to show, by some actual examples, how such a mythological figure may come to life in the small hours at a village festival, may come to life and, by even the least little action, stir the whole community by her sanctity and strength and add by that much to her store of legend. It would be difficult to overstress how real this creature is to the present day Balinese. She has the sort of authenticity which in our culture belongs to Santa Claus, to the Tax Collector, and to the Angel of Death—with the difference that we could not very well imagine all these figures rolled into one, while the Balinese seem to find no difficulty in attributing to Rangda such a multiplicity. They know her well, they expect the worst of her. Whatever turn events may take, she will be evil, she will be female, she will be angry, she will destroy, she will behave like fear incarnate. And you cannot kill her. Over and over the Balinese reiterate, telling her stories, "you cannot kill her." It is not even any use to play out her death in the dramatic version, for she is always there, everlasting and indestructible, just Rangda.

But the strange thing is that any enactment of Rangda's role, either in institutionalized, ceremonial fashion or as a part of a dramatic performance offered outside the temple at the time of a festival or, perhaps most propitiously, when a temple member during the ceremony spontaneously goes into trance and is possessed by the god of the Rangda, and the mask, heretofore hidden away in a basket in one of the shrines where offerings are laid out, is brought forth and put upon the possessed's head and worn throughout his godly impersonation, is considered a fortunate occurrence, if not an actual exorcism, certainly in the nature of a reassurance that the powers of evil, though forever with us, are under control and in such close communication with living humankind that they may be quite easily propitiated and kept in a favorable frame of mind. It seems to give a Balinese a comfortable feeling to see this long fanged, long nailed, bulging eyed, hairy creature, with the hairy pendulous breasts, her whole body traversed by horizontal black and white stripes, cavorting and careening in the temple enclosure, to be brought finally to quiescence with incense and holy water, a few offerings, and a word or two of respect. The entranced player comes to himself, the mask is put away once more in the basket, stored in the temple. The player merges with the crowd, totally amnesic for what has happened.

To those who are interested in following the thread of Hindu influence coming down out of the past to form a part of the weft of current Balinese life, the consonance of the character of Rangda with that of Durga as they think of her is both striking and inescapable. But in following this thread,

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they at times become so enthusiastic that they fail to remark how tenuous it is in places. Rangda is a Balinese mythical figure. Durga is, on the other hand, a widely known personage of the Hindu pantheon whose character is defined in Sanskrit literature, whose attributes have been variously represented according to the time level and the geographical and cultural locale in which the representations have been made. To say that Rangda is Durga is not untrue. But it is true only in the measure that one can say that the Black Christ made by a group of Indians in Mexico and venerated by them on the site of an ancient Aztec temple is the Jesus Christ of Palestine and the New Testament, or in the measure that certain Transformer tales of the Coast Salish on the Northwest Coast of America, when they are brought under Christian influence, identify the figures of *dókwibul* and Moon with Christ.[1] The influence is there, but it can only be accepted and understood by the receiving culture according to its own lights and in terms of its own experience and characteristic structuring of the natural and supernatural worlds.

With this forewarning, then, let us look at the evidence. Vlekke gives the following dates in his historical outline of Hinduistic influences in the Indonesian Archipelago.

c. 1-700 A.D. Hindu immigration into the East Indian islands.

c. 400 A.D. Oldest Sanskrit inscriptions (at Muara Kaman) prove the existence of a Hindu-Indonesian state in East Borneo.

414. The Chinese pilgrim Fah-hien reports Brahmanism to be the prevailing religion in Java and Sumatra.

424. Prince Gunavarman of Kashmir preaches Buddhism in Sumatra.

c. 670. First reports on the Sumatran kingdom of Shrivijaya. The religion of its kings is Mahayana-Buddhist.

c. 750. Construction of the Shivaist temples of the Dieng Plateau (Java).

c. 770-800. Mahayana Buddhism becomes the official religion of the kingdom of Central Java. Construction of Borobudur and Tjandi Mendut (temples), etc.

c. 800. Shrivijaya is the predominant naval power in the archipelago.

c. 870. Return of the Shivaist kings of East Java to Central Java (Mataram).

c. 900. Construction of the Lara Djonggrang temple group at Prambanan (Java).

c. 930. Central Java deserted by its kings and most of its inhabitants.

c. 989-1007. Dharmavangça, king of East Java, extends his power over Bali, promulgates laws, causes the *Mahabharata* to be translated into Old Javanese.

1019-1049. Airlangga (Erlangga, the Balinese prince, becomes through his mother) king of East Java. After his death the kingdom is divided into the states of Kadiri and Janggala.

[1] Smith, n.d.

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1102. Moslem inscriptions at Leran, Java, the first indication of Islam in the archipelago. 175

c. 1290. First town in the Indies (Perlak in northern Sumatra) converted to Islam.

1292. Marco Polo visits Sumatra.

1260-1295. China is united under the rule of the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan. First Chinese expansion to the south.

1294. Prince Vijaya expels the Chinese from Java and founds the kingdom of Madjapahit.

1294-1307. Vijaya extends the authority of Madjapahit over East Java, Madura, and Bali.

1307-1368. Revolt of China against the Mongols, followed by the founding of the Ming dynasty.

1331-1364. Gajah Mada, *patih* (minister) of Madjapahit, extends the authority of his kings over all coastlands between Malaya and the Moluccas.

c. 1350. Refugees from Java found the port of Malacca (Malay States).

1403. The emperors of the Ming dynasty begin a policy of expansion towards the south.

1405. Cheng-Ho, ambassador of the Chinese emperor, visits Malaya. Later embassies force all princes of Sumatra and Java to recognize Chinese overlordship.

1414. Malacca accepts Islam.

1419. First Moslem graves at Gresik, Java.

1465-1486. Marhum, first sultan of Ternate, spreads Islam in the Moluccas.

1478. Traditional date of the fall of Madjapahit. The kingdom probably subsisted fifty years longer.[4]

The bare listing of these events preceding the advent of European influences, Portuguese, British, French, and Dutch, gives an idea of the complexity of the historical pattern through which the Durga thread has to be followed. It seems clear enough to students of Balinese culture that the periods of closest contact between the little island and the more highly refined cultures of Hinduized Java, namely the period of King Erlangga, in the eleventh century, and the Madjapahit period, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are those which have remained fresh in Balinese legend and drama, continually celebrated in the smallest villages and at the courts of the princes. The fact that Bali served as a refuge for the Madjapahit hierarchy, princes, priests, scholars, skilled artists and artisans, fleeing before the tide of Islam may perhaps account for the freshness and clarity of the tradition referring back to Hindu Javanese times. The names of King Erlangga, of the kingdom of Kadiri, of the holy man, Mpu Bharada, of the *patih* (minister), Gadjah Mada, of Madjapahit and its kings and princes are on the tongue of every child, though, indeed, the periods to which they refer are apt to be confused and the historical heroes merged or interchanged with the mythical figures of Arjuna and Rama. To the Balinese, his [177]

[4] Vlekke, 1943, pp. 410-412.

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heritage of Hinduism, whether it came to him directly or as a part of Hindu Javanese tradition, belongs to a sort of fairy tale level of his fantasy, and within the very active creative life of the people, these historical legendary figures continually reappear in the dramas, paintings, and decorative arts.

It will be seen by referring to the above table that the year 900 is the approximate date given to the so called Lara Djonggrang temple group at Prambanan and that it was in the century immediately following this that the first close contact between Java and Bali was established. Now it is no accident that a figure of Durga from Prambanan, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was used as a frontispiece in Keith's volume on Indian mythology in the series, *The Mythology of All Races* (see Pl. XI, *b*). This outstandingly beautiful piece, chosen to head the volume and to illustrate the attributes of the Hinduistic deity, is entitled as follows:

> Durga. The wife of Siva, in her dread aspect, slays the Asura Mahisa. Standing in an attitude of triumph on the demon, who, as his name implies, is in the shape of a buffalo, she drags his soul (symbolized in human form) from him. From a Javanese lava sculpture, probably from Prambanan, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[4]

Durga is here a graceful figure executed with great artistry and technical skill. The posture is rhythmically composed. One hip sways out, the torso swinging to the opposite side; one knee is gently flexed. The breasts are rounded, perfect. One is even able to accept her having six arms, two of them raised above her head, holding weapons, while in another hand she appears to hold the demon by the hair. Her face is impassive and mild, neither threatening nor smiling, though from the reproduction it seems that the mouth is partly open and the teeth visible. In stylization this piece is representative of the best period of Hindu Javanese carving. As a work of art, it is a quite satisfying rendering of "The Inaccessible."

It is always somewhat difficult for those of us brought up in the religious tradition of the gentle Christ to understand why it was that in Hinduism, the fierce and terrible aspect of the wife of Siva was played up rather than her softer side. Keith gives us an inkling of what Durga may have meant at that time when he explains her various names in the chapter of the work mentioned above entitled "The Great Gods of the Epic." He says

> Closely akin to Siva is his wife Uma, the younger daughter of Himavant, whose gift of her to Rudra cost him the loss of all his jewels through a curse of Bhrgu, the sage of the gods, who came too late to seek her in marriage. As "Daughter of the Mountain" she is also Parvati, and Gauri ("the Radiant White One"), and Durga ("the Inaccessible"). The fancy of the poet, how-

[4] Keith, 1917, frontispiece.

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ever, derives this last epithet from the fact that she guards her devotees from distress (*durga*), and she is proclaimed as the refuge for those lost in the wilds, wrecked in the great ocean, or beset by evil men. Yet her normal aspect is terrible: she lives in trackless places, she loves strife and the blood of the Asura Mahisa, and in battle she conquers Danavas and Daityas. She is Kali or Mahakali, as her spouse is Kala, and she is called the deep sleep of all creatures.[6]

Dowson is in quite close agreement with Keith. He lists the following titles under Devi:

In her milder form she is Uma, "light" and a type of beauty; Gauri, "the yellow and brilliant;" Parvati, "the mountaineer;" and Haimavati, from her parentage; Jagan-mata, "the mother of the world;" and Bhavani. In her terrible form she is Durga, "the inaccessible;" Kali and Syama, "the black;" Chandi and Chandika, "the fierce;" and Bhairavi, "the terrible."[7]

It must be stressed that sources dealing primarily with Hinduism in India may give more elaborations of the godly personalities than perhaps were known in Indonesia. The use of the name Durga is rare in Bali. Devi, or Dewi, is known, and *dewa-dewi* is the usual, generic term for all gods. Uma is more rarely encountered, also Parvati. The other names I have not encountered, though *kala-buta* is currently used for all demons; and *chandi*, or *tjandi*, both in Java and in Bali means temple or shrine. The famous Balinese "split gate," which looks like a shrine cut down the center, from which the two sides have been forced apart to make an entrance, is known as "*tjandi bentar*." In Java, at the site of the famous temple from which the lovely statue of Durga described above was taken, the name of the goddess has been lost, and she is known as "Lara Djonggrang." Vlekke tells us

Near Prambanan, on the boundary between the present principalities of Djoejakarta and Surakarta and not far from the ruins of the Buddhist temples of the Shailendra period, an enormous complex of more recent temple ruins has been found. In one of these buildings, a statue is preserved. It is the statue of Durga, the "unapproachable," the goddess who is one of the personifications of Devi, the consort of Shiva.

The natives no longer know the significance of this statue. They have given it the name of "Lara Djonggrang," "slender maiden," and have connected it with the legend of a princess changed into stone by the curse of a rejected lover. In spite of the ignorance of the modern natives and of the fact that all Javanese now profess the Islamic faith, the centuries-old veneration of the statue continues. The simple Javanese people go to the ruins to offer money, fruit, and flowers to the goddess. Professor Krom, the most distinguished student of Hindu-Javanese history, once noticed that two goats were brought to the temple by a farmer as an offering. This farmer was certainly unaware that more than ten centuries ago the goat had been

[6] *Ibid*, p. 118.
[7] Dowson, 1928, "Devi."

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the favorite sacrificial animal for offering to Durga and that he, a Moslem, was following an old Hindu rite practiced by his ancestors.[8]

This sort of folk perpetuation of a tradition has been shown to be carried through in Bali, and it must always be taken into account as a possibility in tracing cultural elements through time. Dr. W. F. Stutterheim identified in Bali a number of mortuary statues of kings, carved in the images of gods, which had been removed from the site of the mortuary temple and set up in village temples. He assumes that the original terraces (similar to the Indian *mandapas*) and the figures were, after the fall of the dynasty, either demolished or abandoned. But the figures, "still regarded as holy, and feared by the population on account of their magic power were installed in temples where they could be cared for and supplied with offerings."

> Thus I found the figures in places to which they did not properly belong (Stutterheim says)—namely, in temples (*puras* [or *poeras*]), where the Balinese do not exactly know what to make of them now. To the people these figures are merely magically dangerous stones (fallen down from the sky, according to popular belief), of which one is afraid and so they must be cared for; their destruction might lead to some calamity. As for their original significance, it is completely forgotten.[9]

every year since that time to the holy spring of Tirta Mpul to be given a bath, and then back again to the village where it was enshrined. The day for the performance of this ceremonial bath was calendrically fixed, full moon of the fourth month. On deciphering the inscription, Stutterheim found that it was the charter of the foundation of the holy spring Tirta Mpul, on the day of full moon of the fourth month of the year 962. Though Dr. Stutterheim, with the true archeologist's enthusiasm, did not forbear to tell the people who venerate this stone and keep it holy the facts of its origin—he remarks that "the communication of my findings was received in the place with no little interest"[10]—one would be inclined to guess that the people still keep it wrapped in its white cloth and provide it with offerings and take it every year for the ceremonial bath and retain only the vaguest memory of the tale told by a Tuan of an alternative origin for the very *sakti* stone.

Stutterheim supports his point by alluding to an inscription dating from 962 A.D. which he was able to decipher, though the stone had been carried

It should be stated here in no uncertain terms that running through the literature of the 1920's and 1930's dealing with ethnographic data in the Indies, whether this literature is Dutch, English, German, or vari-European, the concept of the "magically powerful," "magically dangerous," "magically

[8] Vlekke, 1943, p. 27.
[9] Stutterheim, 1935, p. 28.
[10] *Ibid*, p. 29.

[These lines should be inserted at the beginning of the paragraph as indicated by arrow.--Analyst]

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weak" occurs with great frequency and alarmingly little critical evaluation. This set of ideas became current among Europeans writing about the area and was passed on from one to another, snowballing in apparent force but in effect becoming more and more distant from the indigenous thinking to which the ideas were referred. Except where the authors give a specific reference to the native term employed, all mention of "magic" forces, power, balance, and so on should be viewed with suspicion, and judgment held in reserve for the presentation of further evidence.

With this reservation, then, we may concede that the quality attributed by the Balinese to such objects as the ancient stone images and inscriptions, rendered by Stutterheim as "magic power," is in the Balinese language called *sakti*—a term reminiscent of the Polynesian *mana*, in that it connotes supernatural strength. *Sakti* is of course a Sanskrit term, translated by Dowson as "The wife or the female energy of a deity, but especially of Siva."[11] *Sakti* in Bali means holy, sacred—dangerous, too, if not properly handled—but it has lost, at least on the overt level, the connotation of femaleness belonging to the Sanskrit term. How much of it remains at a deeper level, contributing to the character and the personification of Rangda, we may later on be in a better position to judge.

Returning to actual representations of Durga dating from historic times, we find three stone carvings of her in the same aspect as the one from the Javanese Prambanan reproduced by Keith. Two of these are attributed by Stutterheim to the Old Balinese period, tenth to thirteenth centuries, and a third to the Middle Balinese period, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[12] The first of these, Figure 27 of his *Oudheden van Bali*, is entitled *Durga Mahisasuramardini* and was found in the temple, Poera Kedarman, at Koetri (see Pl. XII, *a*.). The figure is elongated, swaying as in a dance, the left leg extended to an unusual length and in unusual tension, the torso bent from the pelvis towards the same side, the left; head and torso form a continuous, quite rigid line at an angle to the line of the extended leg. The body is definitely articulated at the hip, its weight supported by the right leg, which is, presumably, slightly flexed, though the stone is here rather badly damaged. Of the face, nothing can be made out. The multiple arms bear the various weapons, and the figure is clearly seen to be standing upon the demon buffalo (bull?). The whole figure gives an impression of tensile strength and has a distinctly original character. The style does not appear to be directly influenced by that of the early tenth century Hindu Javanese at Prambanan, and if it were not for the content, one would have

[11] Dowson, 1928, "Sakti."
[12] Stutterheim, 1930.

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difficulty in tracing any connection. Yet this figure, Stutterheim suggests, may have been set up as a mortuary image of Erlangga's mother, the Javanese princess Gunapriyadharmapatni, called Mahendradatta in Bali.

In strong contrast, stylistically, is the second figure of Durga Mahisasuramardini, from the temple, Poera Poeseh, in the same village, Koetri (Figure 28) (see Pl. XII, *b*). Here the figure is much closer to the Prambanan style, but squatter, stiffer, less skillfully executed on the whole, though it is not lacking in sculptural artistry and has a certain compositional grace. The proportions of this figure are, of the head to the body, almost one to four, while the preceding figure has proportions of more nearly one to eight. The stance is wide, the right leg flexed and the left apparently raised, though both legs are broken and the outline is blurred. So is the buffalo on which she stands almost obliterated. But once more we see the bland face, the slightly open mouth of the Prambanan version.

Turning now to the third image, the Durga Mahisasuramardini of the Middle Balinese period shown in Figure 47 (see Pl. XII, *c*) of Stutterheim's *Oudheden*, we see a figure much more rigid, straight up and down, kinesthetically static by comparison with its predecessors. Here again she stands on the buffalo, her left foot on his head, her right knee flexed, but from the pelvis upward the body is absolutely vertical, without mobility, as are also the eight arms. The face is less bland; the mouth is stretched, and what appear to be large canines—predecessors of Rangda's tusks?—are showing. This figure was found in the temple Poera Pedjaksaan, in the village of Bedoeloe, only a few kilometers away from the village which harbors the other two Durga images.

Finally, Stutterheim offers in Figures 69, 70, 71, and 72 the four sides of a small stone *tjandi* found in the temple, Poera Desa Pedapdapan, in another nearby village, Pedjeng. The whole *tjandi*, or temple, is only fifty-eight centimeters high, and the figures of Siva as Mahadeva, Ganesa, Durga, and a Rshi (guru) which adorn the four sides, only fourteen centimeters high, so that not much can be told about the attitudes depicted from the reproductions. We must beware of letting our interest in Durga carry us to the view that her presence in Bali as a godly manifestation is of more importance than it is in actual fact. Stutterheim did not select any Durga image to reproduce in his volume in English, *Indian Influences in Old Balinese Art*, though he republished twenty-three of the hundred and twenty-eight plates from *Oudheden van Bali*. He does give us in the English volume the following statement.

> . . . I found a number of miniature *chandis* (*tjandi*), carved of one piece of stone. These, too, were solid, while in the external niches at the four sides

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were the figures, customary for Java, of Durga Mahishasuramardini (north), Ganesa (west, or, if the entrance faced westwards, east), and one of a Rshi (south). At the presumable entrance was, likewise in relief, the traditional figure of Siva, in the shape of Mahadeva, with four arms, holding a *chamara* and *akshamala* in the rear hands—doubtless on the same principle here as in the case of the king's figure at the rock *chandi* on the Kalebutan. . . . These miniature *chandis* evidently stood on a base (*yoni*) and did service as real *chandis*, though in none of them could I discover traces of formerly deposited ashes. These must have been placed in the *yoni*.[13]

A link between this oriented presentation of Durga dating from the Middle Period and the present time is to be found in a soft stone carving of Durga, again as Mahisasuramardini, on the "back wall of the northernmost *gedong* (closed shrine)," in the temple, Poera Medoewé Karang, Koeboetambahan, as reported by Dr. C. J. Grader.[14] (see Pl. XII, *d*) This figure is very much closer to the modern style. It has the enormous mouth, wide open, with huge teeth and a tongue hanging down half way to the waist. All around the head are floating flames or hair, emanating from the figure and covering the entire back wall of the shrine. One leg is raised, the right one, giving the figure the characteristic asymmetrical look. What appears to be a diminutive representation of the demon buffalo crouches beneath her, squeezed between the left thigh and the right and pressed down by the right foot. The one breast which is visible is no longer the relatively underdeveloped breast of Figure 28, but tending to elongation like those of the contemporary Rangda. The figure is rendered mildly obscene—I say mildly, for this is by no means the most striking aspect of the representation—by the exposure of the female genitalia. Dr. Grader is explicit in referring this Durga figure to Rangda. He says:

Very important is the ornamentation on the back wall of the northern *gedong* (shrine) and the decoration on the back part of the *padmasana* (throne of Surya, the Sun). On the *gedong* is a free standing sculpture of Doerga (Durga) in her manifestation as *rangda*, in a sitting position and with her knees far apart. So her sexual organs can be seen clearly. She is putting her right hand on the head of a small figure who stands behind the knee of the goddess; her right foot rests upon a cow in miniature. Obviously it is the idea to show a figure of Mahisasuramardini.

The sculpture is important because the well known Doerga of the entire Old Javanese art history here is accommodated to local conceptions. The figure of the *rangda*, the reproduction of Doerga, the goddess of the temple of the dead, in the shape of a witch, is popular in Balinese art. Moreover, the *rangda* appears in different types of theatre and dance as for instance in the Tjalonarang play and in various *djaoek* (mask) and *barong* plays. Concerning the literature, one knows the *rangda* especially from the Tjalonarang

[13] Stutterheim, 1935, p. 30.
[14] Grader, 1940, p. 16.

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stories; all of them show in prose as well as in poetry a curious connection with the time of Erlangga. In addition to that the *rangda* is the representative of black magic, the witchcraft, typical especially for love magic. From this one can explain the strong sexual character of the *rangda* figure in the *poera* (temple) Medoewé Karang; as a demonic figure, too, and through her relationship with the underworld and the realm of death, she is connected with the principle of fertility. While the sanctuary as a whole is connected with the ritual of fertility, the ornamentation deals with the idea of the *rangda*, with the subject of the sexual drive. If one wants to stress the character of Mahisasuramardini, the motif might be seen as a means of the magic averting power against the dark impulses. This ambivalence in Doerga's character is related to her chthonic nature. The chthonic nature, however, represents the good and the evil. The *betara di dalem*, the gods of the underworld, represent the kingdom of death as well as the germinating life. The principle of fertility is not only concerned with agriculture but is connected, too, with getting many children.

Besides the many different *boctas* and *kalas*, the army of evil demons who cause all the malice, illness, misfortune, and failure of crops—very often one has to satisfy them by bringing them sacrifices—there are, too, numerous demonic guardians of house and courtyard, of the temple area and the entrance, of the gardens and *sawahs* (wet rice fields).

Witchcraft is fought by white magic. This is, again, of chthonic nature and is personified in the *barong*. The idea of the *barong* shows clearly its connection with the nether world.[15]

Dr. Grader has here been explicit in stating the connection of Durga with Rangda, of Rangda with black magic, and through this back again in circular fashion, with the chthonic side of Durga's dual character. He does not, unfortunately, tell us if this hypothesis is supported by any statements of Balinese, members of the temple. He states the antithesis, Rangda-Barong, since the Barong is seen in this scheme of things as a personification of the powers of white magic. But he does not offer any suggestion of what the Barong's antecedents might be, parallel to those of Rangda, now known as a masked figure, to be found in the named Durga images dating from Middle Balinese times. It is because Rangda and Barong have in the contemporary period achieved such a central place as masked figures, dramatic representations of transformations, and because when ceremonial trance seizures occur the communication is established between the supernatural and the temple members by means of these impersonations, that Europeans have come to regard Rangda and Barong as intimately connected and can hardly mention one without the other. The wedding of these two is recent. That it is an unending battle royal, a Punch and Judy show on a grand scale, does not weaken the tie between them. But as to when and where this antagonism came into being we have practically no evidence, and we had best be wary

[15] *Ibid.*

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of hypotheses which would explain the present in terms stemming from an insufficiently known past.

In justice to Dr. Grader it must be said that he seems to have mentioned the Rangda connection with the Durga figure in passing, not intending to give it the stress which it receives when taken out of context. Actually, the decoration of the shrine in question is of minor importance in this temple, a head agrarian temple for dry agriculture. Along the front are large three dimensional figures of the whole dramatis personae of the Ramayana, with Kumbakarna, a giant figure, dominating them. Inside the second, inner court is an impressive carved throne of Surya, the Sun, flanked by the shrines to the male and female deities bearing Balinese names, *ratoe penaban sari, lanangistri*. Very careful investigations of the names given by Balinese temple members and priests to the various shrines within a temple, often very numerous, do not as a rule turn up any mention of Durga nor likeness recalling the familiar Rangda. Grader's study of Madénan, for example, an old style mountain village, gives seventeen named shrines and buildings within the village temple and, as one would expect, no mention of Durga or Rangda.[10] Goris' exhaustive study of Bali's head temple, Besakih, gives forty-nine named shrines and buildings, none for Durga or Rangda.[11] Those of us who worked especially on ceremonial in Bali over a period of years came to regard the existence of a named Durga shrine as very definitely a rarity, though Rangda masks kept in the temple were exceedingly common; and it was not unusual to find a set of three, four, or five Rangda masks all belonging to the same temple and said to be "related" (kin) to the Barongs and Rangdas of other villages in the region.

Before going on to actual instances of Rangda and Barong impersonations, a few words are in order on our knowledge of the historical period to which the Balinese refer the Rangda tales. Stutterheim refers the stories to the period of Erlangga, the eleventh century king whose mother was a Javanese and under whose rule the Javanese kingdom was split.[12]

Covarrubias, basing his view on Stutterheim's, states the historical background of the story as follows:

> At the beginning of the eleventh century a Balinese prince became the king of Java, the great Erlangga. His mother, Mahendradatta, was a Javanese princess who ruled Bali with her Balinese husband, Dharmodayana, until the husband, suspecting her of practising evil magic, exiled her to the forest.

[10] Grader, n.d.
[11] Goris, 1937.
[12] Stutterheim, 1935, *passim*.

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193 [194] When Erlangga's father died, leaving Mahendradatta a *rangda*, a widow, she conspired to use her band of pupils trained in the black arts to destroy Erlangga's kingdom."

He goes on to quote Stutterheim's statement that her chief grudge against Erlangga was that he failed to persuade his father not to take another wife. And one of the chief motifs of the Rangda stories, reiterated and played out again and again by the Balinese, is the one that Covarrubias mentions—that nobody will marry the daughter of the witch. The story of the epidemic [194] she caused, how she went to the cemetery, dug out corpses, cut them to pieces, ate the members, drank the blood, and decked herself with entrails, all this is dwelt upon in the published version of *De Calon Arang* (*Tjalon arang*) taken from the palm leaf (*lontar*) books." Mpu Bharada, the holy man, figures as the adviser to Erlangga and the champion of right who matches his supernatural powers against those of Rangda.

195 648 Vlekke in his history of the whole archipelago speaks of this period also as one marked by cataclysms, heroic ventures, and dire events. The Javanese king, Dharmavamça, Erlangga's father-in-law, he speaks of as "the first historical person of the Indonesian islands of whom we have more than a dim vision."

> He ordered the codification of the Javanese laws and fostered the growth of Javanese literature. He had some of the old Sanskrit texts translated into Javanese . . . saw to it that a Javanese version of the Hindu epic *Mahabharata* was composed . . .
>
> Dharmavamça . . . knew how to combine diplomacy and warfare with cultural activity. Under his rule Javanese authority over Bali was established."

These factors in themselves would be sufficient to cause the celebration [193] of the period in Bali[illegible]gend and dramatic plays. The introduction of [177] the strange princes[illegible]unknown and mysteriously disturbing ways, her different speech an[illegible]er court, the new cultural refinements of dance, dress, and pos[illegible]esh store of weird supernatural tales, all these must have mad[illegible]e relatively uncouth Balinese an impression which they continuously act out up to the present day.

Dharmavamça was not satisfied with extending his sway over Bali. He "forced a principality on the west coast of Borneo to recognize his overlordship." Then he set out to conquer Sumatra and to overthrow the Shrivijaya dynasty. Vlekke speaks of this last campaign:

" Covarrubias, 1937, p. 328.
" Poerbatjaraka, 1926.
" Vlekke, 1943, p. 30.

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In a furious onslaught he (Dharmavamça) carried the war into the central part of that Sumatran empire and for several years during the last decade of the tenth century the throne of Shrivijaya was in constant danger of being overthrown. We know no details, but Dharmavamça's attack must have been beaten off, and Shrivijaya's retaliation, though delayed, was merciless. Its army, reinforced by its vassals from the Peninsula, swept over Java, took the capital, and set fire to the *Kraton*, the royal palace.

After the death of Dharmavamça the power of the Javanese kingdom was crushed and the various local potentates made themselves supreme in their districts. The empire appeared to have disintegrated. . . .

One of the consequences of the weakening of Shrivijaya was the revival of the Javanese kingdom under one of the most remarkable kings of Indonesian history, Airlangga (Erlangga) the son-in-law of the murdered Dharmavamça. This prince has left us, in a long inscription, the story of his amazing adventures. When he came from Bali, where his father was merely a local potentate, and tried to take possession of the throne of Java he naturally was opposed by the local rulers, who preferred the continuation of chaos to vassalage under a strong king.

Airlangga, like King Alfred of England, was obliged to live in hiding in the forests. The long years spent in solitude among the hermits of the woods and mountains were no lost time for the prince, for during them he gathered physical and moral strength to accomplish his task. To this period of abstinence and exercise in self-control the Javanese ascribe his ultimate success. Self-control practiced in conformance to Brahmanistic teaching naturally strengthened Airlangga's will-power, but to the theologians of Indonesia his experience meant more. They saw in it a period for the accumulation of the secret knowledge and power which they believed present in everything on earth and which finds its highest expression in the conscious use by initiates of the magic force. The use of this higher power was in itself no evil. Evil lay only in the misuse of it. Magic power was believed to be possessed by those persons in whom the gods chose to be reborn."

Vlekke, the sober historian, continues in this vein, until one begins to think there really must have been a stronger magic in those days than in our own. When he modulates to the story of Arjuna and to the famed Arjunavivaha tale which was written down in Erlangga's time, one is left with the feeling that indeed Arjuna and Erlangga may have been one and interchangeable. He continues:

King Airlangga had brought the Javanese state to a new life, but in spite of that his name was often cursed by his successors, who were driven to the use of the most demoniac devices to restore what he had broken by making a wrong use of secret knowledge. It is an historical fact that after Airlangga's death (1045?) the unity of the East Javanese kingdom was destroyed. According to the Javanese chronicles the king himself had decided to divide his realm between his two sons. The chronicles say that the king ordered a wise monk named Bharada (compare the Balinese story) who was said to be so well versed in the forces of the supernatural world that he could fly through

" *Ibid*, pp. 31-33.

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the air, to draw the boundaries between the two parts. Countermagic hindered the completion of the monk's work, but the curse of division and eternal (sic) strife had been laid upon the country."

Wars, then, political strife, disunity, the division of the kingdom, the separation of Kadiri (Daha) and Djanggala (both names well known in Balinese theatre) form the background of events against which the legend of the Rangda has grown up. There is another factor of importance, on which Vlekke barely touches, but which must have been exceedingly conducive to the building up of all these reputations for supernatural power. That is the coexistence at that time in Java, and in Bali, of organized priesthoods serving the Buddhist and Sivaite faiths. Erlangga is said to have brought both priesthoods under government control "by appointing royal superintendants and by making the priests themselves royal officials."[14] One can imagine that during these times of division, conflicting loyalties, the introduction of foreign born princes and princesses into the courts must have been propitious for priestly intrigue and the matching of powers of holiness. Even today in Bali one can see a Sivaite and a Boda (Buddha) high priest practicing their very similar rituals a few feet away from each other at a great ceremonial; yet the followers of each high priest will tell tales of the outstanding power (*sakti*) of his priest, his strength of concentration and intense holiness.

It is a possibility, presented here only tentatively for lack of supporting evidence, that the masked figure of the Rangda was elaborated out of the Durga worship belonging to the Sivaite tradition, while that of the Barong developed in a parallel line from some form of the Buddhist worship. This hypothesis is not belied by the existence in China and in Japan of dragon masks, closely resembling the Balinese Barong in structure, function, and behavior—playing in the villages at New Year's, for example—for it might have been on a wave of Buddhism that the idea of the Barong reached all three countries. The lion-like mask, the body animated by two or more players, the function of the performance as an exorcism for the protection of the village, the giving of food and coins to him in return for his protection, these are common elements found in China and Japan as well. It is quite conceivable that the mask play, traveling with Buddhism, was diffused over this wide area (see Pl. X, a and b). The antagonism, then, of Rangda and Barong when they meet and match their supernatural powers in the Balinese play could contain the deeper

[14] *Ibid*, p. 37.
[15] *Ibid.*

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symbolic meaning of the rivalry of the Sivaite faith with the earlier entrenched Buddhism.

An alternative hypothesis for the origin of the Barong is that he came to Bali from China, a purely Chinese cultural form, a Chinese dragon in fact, who runs around the town at New Year's time and clears space of evil influence.* That this play with the mask and the multiple actors under the coat is a readily transmitted cultural form is attested to by his presence in New York City at the present time—the Chinese have brought him here, and he plays to a large and enthusiastic crowd every Chinese New Year. Money and food are given him in return for his protection, though he is terrifying and in order to present to him a cabbage the offerer impales it on the end of a long stick. Such a figure can travel, then, there can be no doubt. And we know that contact between Indonesia and China was established in Han times.

A Japanese student of anthropology in New York, after seeing films of the Balinese Barong, spontaneously remarked that in his village in Japan during his childhood such a mask dragon would come every year at New Year's season. It was called Chi Chi Mai and given money and food as offerings and played as a protection against evil. The only difference was, he said, that sometimes there was only one player.

The writer collected in Japan such a wooden mask, said to date from the eighteenth century (see Plate IX). In all its characteristic features, the bulging eyes, the great jowls, the hinged jaws with the hand hold for snapping them, it is clearly a very close relative of the Balinese Barong. Another specimen, also collected in Japan, is of wood covered with red lacquer. It is somewhat different in style and is said to date from the nineteenth century. It is not impossible that these masks and their ceremonial function entered China and Japan as a part of the Buddhist tradition. The form remained relatively frozen in Japan, as did other cultural items taken over from China; but in China itself and in the places to which Chinese have emigrated the mask is now made of papier mâché, renewable at each New Year's time, not cherished as a sacred object but kept alive only in the tradition.

In the past few years anthropologists have come to the realization that it is not sufficient to explain the presence of a myth figure by reference to culture contacts of the past. A myth to be entertained at all, must be integral to the culture at the time level under scrutiny. It is not enough to show that,

* Cf. Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 188: "The Dragon can mark out areas which are safe from witchcraft . . . and also he can mark out stretches of time, e.g., by opening and terminating the Witch play."

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by means of cultural diffusion, a given people were exposed to a given set of ethological constructs in the ethological make up of a neighboring people. Elements under such exposure do not always "take." And if they do take, they are likely to be transformed and refurbished according to the prevailing feeling in the receiving culture. An inner congruence exists within a culture at any point in time, an equilibrium between the various elements which compose it, such that, if any element is added or drops into oblivion, it reflects upon the total culture at that time. And if a single religious concept, myth figure, or fairy tale is accepted from without or independently evolved, the whole culture is to that extent modified. Children are brought up on these tales; parents' attitudes are modified in concordance with the current belief. They warn, shield, console, and threaten the young with the mythological and religious figures in mind. Fear and fantasy in the adult are communicated to the child in a thousand subtle ways, in the tone of voice in which a father speaks, in the roll of a mother's eye, or in the shiver that runs down her spine as she holds the child in her arms. There is a channeling of feeling which runs out of the realm of fantasy into that of reality, so that the whole culture expresses this feeling not only in the formation of the individuals who make it up, but in its ordering of day to day behavior, its method of economy, its patterned exchanges, and its ceremonial and secular ritual. Kardiner has stated this point as follows:

> The value of the whole genetic approach lies in its being able to show us how certain integrational systems come into being; and we made it our special concern to track down those systems we designated as projective, in contrast to those of taught or rational origin on the basis of which scientific systems are built. In every society studied we found evidences of these two systems. The empirical reality systems we found in the manipulation and making of tools, the knowledge of planting, and so forth; the projective systems in religion, folklore, and many other systems.
>
> These two types of mental process depend upon different orders of experience. The differentiating feature is not that one has an emotional constituent and the other not. Both have emotional components. Rational thinking is driven by curiosity and has such goals as mastery and utility. The emotional component of projective thinking is made up of all those affects which accompany human relations. In the systems built on a projective basis the conclusions drawn do not depend on any fixity in nature, but on sequences which are contingent on institutionalized practices conveyed by parents or other people in the environment of the growing child. Hence our interest in the genetic aspects. The experiential base of a projective system is generally forgotten; its only remains in the personality are to be found in the conditioned perceptions, meanings, affects, psychosomatic reactions, and behavior. It is a feature of such projective systems that they are capable of extension upon situations which have no actual resemblance to the experiences on which they were based. This may be called *symbolic extension*."

" Kardiner, 1945, pp. 38-39.

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It is Kardiner's contention that from the early experiences in a given culture a "nuclear constellation" is laid down, which "creates an unconscious base from which any number of projective systems can arise."[11] Because he began with individual psychology and extended it to culture, Kardiner puts the setting of the projective system in what he calls the basic personality structure parallel to that which he would give a projective system in an individual. Projective systems are said to arise, as though in each member of the culture the same one arose anew, out of the psychodynamic forces which he points out. Actually, there is room for acceptance or rejection by the individual within the culture of the projective systems offered to him by his culture, for elaboration and denial within the limits set by the culture and by his individual personality as formed within that culture out of the original human material born into it.

Margaret Mead introduces the Witch theme in Balinese culture with explicit reference to parent child relations and to the reciprocal effect of these upon the myth figure and of the myth figure upon the parent child relations. She says:

> While the Balinese child is passing through this first period of responding with passion to his mother's gay, disassociated teasing . . . he is also the spectator of the drama in which the Balinese express their feeling about such a mother-role. The Witch play, the *Tjalonarang*, the definitive dramatic theme of Balinese parent-child relations, not only expresses the residue in the adults of what they experienced as children, but also is watched by children and shapes their reading of the experiences to which they are subjected daily. It colors the child's appreciation of his mother's behavior, and stylizes his attitude toward her.
>
> The plot of the play, which begins as a simple theatrical performance and usually ends in a series of violent trances with full religious paraphernalia of offerings and ritual, varies in detail from village to village, but is essentially uniform. The Witch is angry at a king because he or his son has rejected her daughter, or married her and then rejected her, or simply because the king has accused her of witchcraft. She summons her disciples—played by the most attractive little girls or by little boys dressed as little girls—and, dressed as an old hag, she schools them in witchcraft. They go forth and spread plague and disaster over the land. People are driven from their homes; babies are born and strangled by the witches and tossed back dead into the parents' laps; corpses fill the land. All of these horrors are in the broadest, slapdash comedy interspersed with exaggerated theatrical emotions. Then the king of the desolated country sends his ambassador, or he may come himself to fight the Witch, now no longer an old and infirm woman, but a masked supernatural being whose tongue is studded with flame, whose nails are many inches long, whose breasts are abhorrently hairy and pendulous, and whose teeth are tusks. Against her the emissary fails. He retires from the stage and is transformed into the Dragon (a two-man mask), who is as friendly and puppyish a beast as the Witch is terri-

[11] *Ibid*, p. 42.

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fying. The Dragon confronts the Witch and they hold altercations in ecclesiastical old Javanese. Followers of the Dragon, armed with krisses, enter and approach the Witch ready to attack her. But she waves her magic cloth—the cloth baby sling—and after each attack they crouch down before her, magically cowed. Finally they rush upon her in pairs, stabbing ineffectively at the Witch who has become a half-limp bundle in their tense arms. She is uninvolved and offers no resistance, but one by one they fall on the ground in deep trance, some limp, some rigid. From this trance they are aroused by the Dragon who claps his jaws over them, or by his priest sprinkling his holy water. Now, able to move again but not returned to normal consciousness, they move about in a somnambulistic state, turning their daggers which were powerless against the Witch, against their own breasts, fixing them against a spot which is said to itch unbearably. Thus symbolically they complete the cycle of the childhood trauma—approach to the mother, the rejection and the turn-in upon the self."

Mead and Bateson have illustrated the two way relationship they see between the parent child behavior and the two great masked figures as projections of Mother image and Father image; especially on Plate 62 of *Balinese Character*, entitled "Parents: Witch and Dragon," six of Bateson's photographs juxtaposed show the characteristic behavior of the Rangda and Barong, and a witch-like mother holding her baby in the air, her eyes starting out of her head, her teeth exposed, and a protective father holding his baby. A photograph of the conflict between Witch and Dragon has the descriptive caption:

. . . a scolding match in archaic language (*Kawi*). The gestures typical of this conflict are clearly shown—the Dragon expressing anger by sudden forward thrusts of his head, and the Witch stretching out her arm with all five fingers splayed and rigid, a gesture not of physical attack but rather oriented to make the opponent powerless."

A series of juxtaposed movie films made by Bateson show up even more clearly parallels between parent child behavior, the stimulation and frustration of the child, leading to tantrum, and the stylization of the masked play, leading to the trance seizure which these authors see as the equivalent of the infantile tantrum.

But there is another aspect to the behavior of the Witch which deserves emphasis, and that is the character of Rangda as the personification of Fear. Probably the usual bogeys in cultures which bring up their children in the fear of them are scary, but they do not themselves act out the feeling. Dr. Mead has stated this aspect of Rangda as follows:

The fascination which the figure of the Witch holds for the Balinese imagination can only be explained when it is recognized that the Witch is not

" Bateson and Mead, 1942, pp. 34-35.
" *Ibid*, p. 179.

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only a fear-inspiring figure, but that she is Fear. Her hands with their long menacing fingernails do not clutch and claw at her victims, although children who play at being witches do curl their hands in just such a gesture. But the Witch herself spreads her arms with palms out and her fingers flexed backward, in the gesture which the Balinese call *kaper*, a term which they apply to the sudden startled reaction of a man who falls from a tree. The Witch reconstitutes the figure of the mother, not only as the teasing, powerful, unsatisfying person who aroused one's emotions only to throw one back upon oneself, but also as the person who cried "Snake!" and "Wildcat!" and so drew the child to her bosom by a display of fear. Only when we see the Witch as herself afraid, as well as frightening, is it possible to explain her appeal and the pathos which surrounds her as she dances, hairy, forbidding, tusked, and alone, giving her occasional high eerie laugh.[80]

That the fear component in Balinese character structure should be projected onto a figure which itself plays fear is quite congruent with what has been called the narcissistic character of these people—the self-contained, somewhat aloof bearing in interpersonal relations and the concern with self, the tendency to turn own affect into artistic products, music and dance, rather than to be concerned with goals and mastery techniques or with affect oriented toward another person.

Interrogation of informants corroborated the hypothesis that fear and the teaching of fear were associated, even on a conscious level, more closely with the mother than with the father. For example, one informant said, "My father taught me not to say what I thought and not to believe what others said; my mother taught me, when I went to a strange village, to beware of eating any food." Further corroboration is given in the complacency and assurance with which the Balinese admits to fear, an outstanding fact in this culture which I noted a number of years ago in a first attempt to outline what I called "the Balinese temper."[81] For Europeans and Americans brought up to value courage and to be ashamed to fear, it was at first surprising to find a Balinese happily stating "Sing bani," "I do not dare," as if he expected approval for his lack of daring. Indeed, where mothers consistently frighten their young children, as Mead and Bateson have shown that the Balinese do, in order to teach them the right way to behave and how to avoid dangers in the outside world, a demonstration of one's awareness of danger would meet with maternal approval and, by extension, could be offered in later life as an aspect of one's character for which one could expect to be generally approved. Where, in our culture, parents speak of "putting the fear of God into him" when they want to make a good child,

[80] *Ibid*, pp. 35-36.
[81] Belo, 1935, p. 139.

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the Balinese mother smiles upon her son when she has taught him to say and feel "*Sing bani*," when she has taught him fear.

That this tie up between the mother and fear exists in Bali there can be no doubt. But that the Rangda should be construed as Mother Figure representative of the total feeling toward the mother, and that this substitution should be carried over into adulthood until the young man looks forward to marrying a girl who will turn into a witch, "marry a woman whose attitude toward human relations will be exactly that of his own mother,"[a] is a point of view with which this writer does not agree. Rangda serves only as a representation of the fear aspect of the Mother Figure. There is a split in the feeling toward the mother, the destructive, witchlike, devouring, and deathly side of her represented in the Rangda, which Mead and Bateson have stressed, and the loving, beautiful, food-giving aspect of the living woman.

Balinese women are famous the world over[b] for their beauty, their grace, and their graciousness as people, and of this quality the women themselves do not seem unaware. The men, equally handsome and graceful, are appreciative of the gracious quality of the female and remark upon a pretty face, a beautiful breast, with connoisseurship such as they apply to the arts. Women who bear children are highly valued, and the importance of having issue is in this culture equal for the male and the female. Women cook the daily rice, which is holy. The making of the little rice goddess, Dewi Sri, at each harvest time from the first cut sheaf is apparently an Old Indonesian rite, representative of both the food giving and fertility aspects of the female. At New Year's time, before each house is hung a *lamak*, a palm leaf panel with cut out designs in highly stylized Old Indonesian patterns. On each panel, executed in a distinctive manner in each village, is a stylized tree, probably a male symbol, and a *tjili*, a lovely slender lady with triangular body and a circular headdress. This *tjili* figure has been identified with Dewi Sri, with the *dedari* (*widadari*, Sanskrit *vidya-dhari*), heavenly nymphs, in whose name the little girl trance dancers (*sang hyang dedari*) are invoked. A myriad of different forms among the offerings and the receptacles for the soul in post-mortuary ceremonies recall this graceful, somewhat infantile female figure. It seems that we are dealing here with a prototype of the feminine spirit figure from Old Indonesian times, brought down to us more or less intact in the *tjili* patterns and carried over, with necessary modifications, into the Hinduistic death ritual where needed. Covarrubias[c]

[a] Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 36.
[b] Covarrubias, 1937, pp. 172-75, 177, 179 and 181.

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gives a number of reproductions of them which may profitably be compared with Stutterheim, *Oudheden*, Figure 63—also a *widadari* with elongated body and with highly differentiated hands, each finger elongated, separate, and extended.

This figure, compared with the elongated Durga of Figure 27 in the same book, gives us a clue to the division of the female image since Middle Balinese times. The Prambanan Durga image is destructive, but beautiful, containing in herself the qualities of "the radiant white one" and "the terrible," "the mother of the world" and "the deep sleep of all creatures." It is a curious fact that the plagues and epidemics which the Rangda is thought to cause are the reason for the creation of *sang hyang dedari* ("heavenly nymph" child trance dancers) who are meant to cure them. As the Durga image, meeting the Indonesian image of fertility and femaleness, was modified in accordance with it, so down through the centuries till the present time have come the two threads, that of the Rangda, who became older, more hideous, more destructive as time went on, and that of the *tjili*, which became more graceful, more "spiritual," more innocent, and more child-like.

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CHAPTER THREE

Ceremonial Appearances of Rangda and Barong

Village temples in Bali are linked together in a given area by hereditary ties or because of allegiance to a princely house or to that of a Brahmana high priest. Thus to a head temple on the day of its yearly festival will come the members and the priests from a number of tributary temples round about, bearing their gods in procession, accompanied by their *gamelan* orchestras, with spears and banners and all ceremonial regalia, and bringing also the Barong and the Rangda. To the great temple Poera Panataran at Kesiman (in the vicinity of Den Pasar, Badoeng District) there come year after year as many as a dozen Barongs with Rangdas, and with them their "followers," who customarily go into trance, draw krisses, and stab themselves (*ngoerck*) as a part of the manifestation of the power of their masked figures. At times informants will explain to Europeans that this is a "battle of the witches," that they are matching their power. Actually there is no encounter between the witches.

A film record of one of these ceremonial occasions at Kesiman shows a curious division in the behavior of the entranced followers which I want to point out here, for it throws light on the attitudes of some of the subjects we were able to study more intimately and in greater detail. Briefly stated, it is that while some of the temple members wear (Balinese say *njaloek*, more literally "bear") the masks and very often go into trance in their roles, and while other temple members seize a kris and begin to stab themselves in trance, among the entranced are some who take instead the characteristic Rangda attitudes, the arms extended and the fingers abducted (*kapar*, the "startle pose"), bending backward and forward from the waist and emitting the characteristic Rangda sounds, "Wha! Wha!"—long drawn out yowls of horrific glee; these last are said to be entered by the god of the Rangda, though it is not their ceremonial function at the moment to impersonate her. It appears also that these characteristic sets of patterned trance behavior may be used alternatively by both sexes, and may constitute a formalized track for crossing sex lines. Rangda is, in my experience, always played by a man. In the formal Barong play, men draw krisses and attack the Witch; then, overcome by her power, they turn the krisses on themselves. Women,

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so far as we know, do not attack the Witch but in the temple do attack themselves with krisses. A man who in trance enacts the Rangda role, when he is not in the mask, is showing an identification with the female figure.

Kesiman. At the Kesiman temple this behavior occurs against the following ceremonial background. During the day, a great cockfight is held in the square outside the high entrance gate of the temple. This is still going on when, in the late afternoon, the processions arrive from the various tributary temples, with Barongs and Rangdas. These enter the temple court, where the Barongs are said to make obeisance (*mebakti*) to the Gods of the Temple. The "followers" make obeisance, too, and immediately, as the Barongs rise to their feet and turn to leave the temple, they leap up, shouting, with drawn krisses, and some begin to stab themselves. The bearers of the Rangda masks appear, for the most part, to go in trance, too, as is manifested in their disoriented manner and jerky walk as they are led towards the gate of the temple. An indescribable chaos rules in the temple court as all this wild, abandoned behavior breaks out; the people crush against each other, perhaps five thousand of them, pressing to keep close to their own Barong. The priests are sprinkling holy water, pushing through the crowd with lighted incense braziers, shouting instructions to each other. In the melée a young boy of fifteen or so tries to stab himself, then stands there, his kris limp in his hand, the tears running down his cheeks. Some very old people, men and women, dressed in ceremonial obsolete court dress, form in procession, too, and slowly make their way toward the high gate. These are the *sadegs*, the official trance spokesmen of the gods, who at some time during the festival will hold a ceremonial feast and godly conversation in order to determine the gods' will. Some few of these go into trance now, two of them assume the attitudes of statues and stand for more than an hour holding their poses as guardian figures, one on either side of the ceremonial gate.

One by one, on the day we are describing, the Barongs with their followers and the entranced Rangdas squeezed through the narrow gate. The procession, which was to circumambulate three times the cockfight pit in the outer square, gradually took shape. Masked figures, bearers of regalia, priests, entranced followers brandishing their krisses, and among them the subjective Rangdas without any masks slowly moved forward and around the space. At times the crowd pressed so closely that I had to hold the camera up over my head and keep my finger on the button. We noted that each time they passed the gate the more violent trancers broke into renewed spasms of self stabbing or further careening, and many stopped and gesticulated before

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[796] [786] the gate as if daring the presence within the temple to come out and join in the affray.

When this part of the ritual, the circumambulation of the outer square, was at an end, the masked figures and their followers passed up the steps again and through the gate into the inner court, where the entranced were sprinkled with holy water and smoked with the incense brazier to bring them [783] out of trance, and their krisses were taken from them. Sometimes the entranced struggle violently when disarmed. One of the most conspicuous performers on this occasion, a man who had dressed himself in the ceremonial [292] cloth, *poléng* (black and white check in large squares) for both his upper scarf (*sapoet*) and his headcloth (*oedeng*), who had been especially exhibitionistic in his self stabbing and in his prancing about with wide legged [152] steps and wide eyed facial expressions, broke into tears and wept bitterly when his kris was taken from him. It happened that at this time the *méndét* dance (a dance with offerings, usually performed by women) was in order in the ritual. Our friend with the checked garb stood there a moment [535] weeping, his hands extended—and then he began dancing the *méndét* with the women.

This sort of behavior is quite common in the temple festivals of smaller village groups, and it is in practise very much easier and very much more rewarding to study behavior sequences in smaller settings, where the individuals who perform various parts may be followed and identified, preferably where the people are known to the observer as individuals, so that something of their life history and their circumstances is either known or may be readily collected afterward.

Sindoe, April 1937. A setting particularly well suited for this type of [346] observation was provided in the tiny temple, Poera Dalem of Sindoe (Intaran, Badoeng District) a few hundred yards down the road from the house of Katharane Mershon, one of our group of investigators. All the participants were friends of hers, and even the introduction of two or three [123] Europeans, armed with cameras and note books, and two trained Balinese [126] secretaries, busily taking notes and asking every one's name and the name of every offering and bit of ritual, did not seem to affect the ethos of the ceremonial. The occasion from which I want to select certain structural details and behavior sequences for description here was a calendric festival which lasted three days, from April 26 to April 29, 1937, on the first day from five o'clock in the afternoon to 2:35 A.M., on the last day from 8:50 P.M. till 1:42 A.M. There was an absolute orgy of trance, which every one enjoyed thoroughly. A sick girl, suffering from tuberculosis, had promised [782] the necessary extra sets of offerings to "keep" for the three days the "little

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gods" (*dewa alit*) in the temple. To the regular yearly festival in honor of the gods of the temple was added this therapeutic function.[1]

The spatial arrangement of this temple and the shrines within it are an actual schematization of the thesis I have been presenting, namely, that from the Durga figure two themes have sprung, that of the horrific Rangda on the one hand and that of the graceful, child-like puppet figure on the other. The chief shrine in the temple, a single court, is a *gedong* (closed shrine) sacred to Durga. All the people know her name, and there is even a statue (*togog*) of her standing before it, dressed in the sacred black and white cloth and with red hybiscus flowers in the headdress. A large palm leaf panel bearing the Old Indonesian designs hangs down from the open doors of the shrine. To the right, on an open shrine called a *balé tadjoek*, a Rangda mask is set out. To the left, on another type of shrine called a *balé pelik*, twelve small puppet-like "little gods," the *dewa alit*, are set out, also dressed in finery and with flowers. Opposite the Durga-shrine is the open building, the *balé piasan*, which is where the Brahmana high priest does his ceremonial praying (*mcweda*, from *veda*). In the corner near the gate is a roofed building to house the *gamelan* orchestra. The gate is to one side of center, and immediately opposite it on the outside is a high temporary shrine called a *panggocngan*, customarily put up at calendric festivals for offerings to the demons. Across the outer square is an enormous banyan tree with a shrine under it, said to be for Banaspati Radja, king of the demons and identified in this area with the Barong. The entire temple, instead of being oriented north and south, that is, with *kadja* (the head) towards the mountains and *kelod* (the foot) towards the sea, has its "head" towards the sea and east, putting the small gods north and Rangda to the south.

Godly presences are in the temple only when they are invited to come down with prayers and the preparation of offerings. The shrines are shelters for them, guest houses. For the most part they are empty. When a figure, such as this one of Durga, is present it is as a representation, a statue, a *togog*, not a god figure, an "idol." Sometimes a sacred object, a precious stone, a carved figure or pair of figures, a pair of little painted faces, things of this sort will be kept inside the shrine as receptacles for the gods' presence when they come down. Such objects are called *artja*, but this term was not

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.45 -- ANALYST]

[1] My field notes say: She told us that she promised to keep out the *dewa alit* for three days at this *odalan* if she got better. We remarked later that a great many members of her family took part in the ritual and dancing on the first day and on the last day, but on the last day she herself did not come. However, we have seen her since and she looks better (May 11, 1937).

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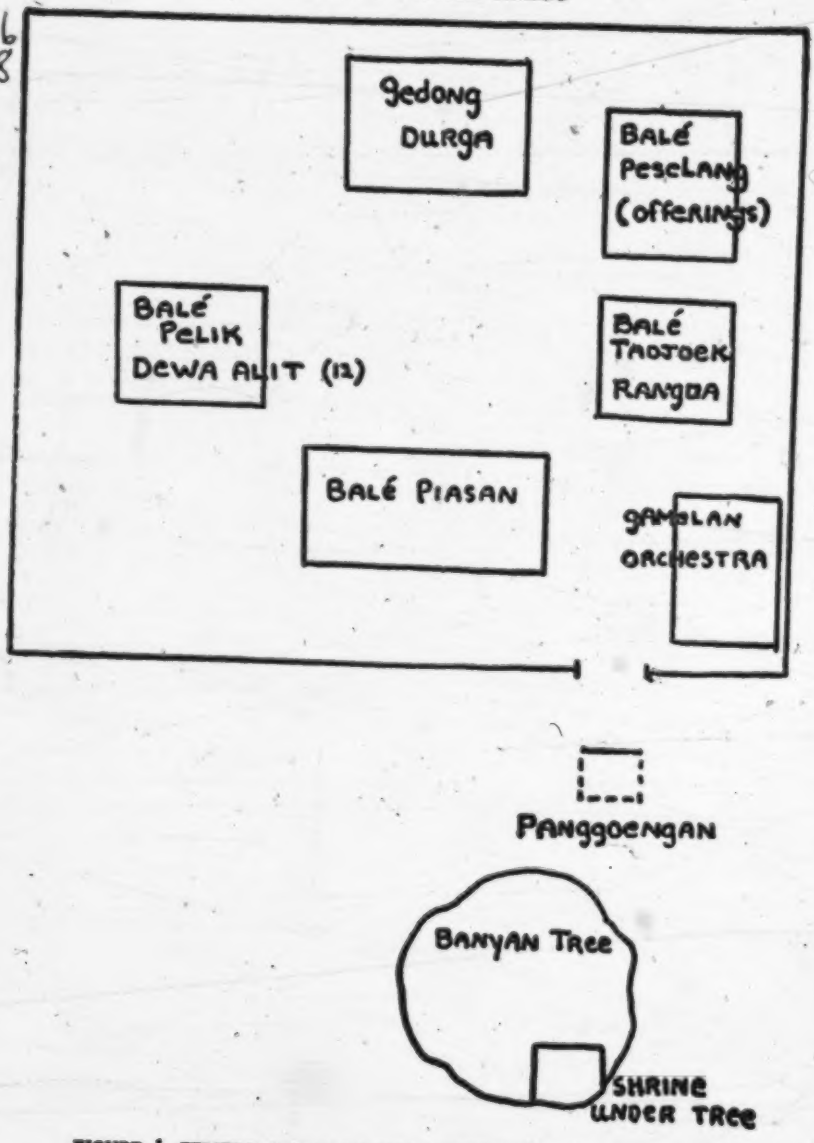

FIGURE 1. TEMPLE COURT AT POERA DALEM SINDOE, INTERAN, DEFINING THE INNER AND OUTER SPACE.

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applied to the Durga statue on Durga's shrine in the temple under consideration. We were told that after the festival the figure was taken out of the temple and stored in the house of the Brahmana family which supports this temple, lest it be stolen.

The Rangda mask had been brought from a nearby village, Taman, where it was kept together with the Barong. The Barong play was scheduled to take place the second day of the festival, outside the temple. He did not come to the opening day.

It is not necessary to give here the whole order of the ritual. Only as much will be cited as is necessary to make clear the background against which the trance behavior and the attitudes towards the Rangda took place. The festival began, then, with the faithful coming in to make obeisance and to receive holy water, bringing their offerings as gifts for the propitiation of the gods. The Brahmana high priest, who happened to be a female *pedanda*, recited prayers and dedicated the offerings. Then she went home, her part in the festival finished, and from that time on the proceedings were entirely carried out by the old temple priest (*pemangkoe*) and his son. The order of the ritual opened with the "reception" of the gods (*pemendak*), the procession going first to the outer court, circumambulating the outside shrine, then going within, to the Durga shrine, to the small gods" shrine, and finally to the Rangda. Girls danced with the offerings outside and to Durga and the little gods. For Rangda, men danced. This was followed by a ceremonial feast (*kawas*) spread on the ground, at which men and women, and the priests, all went into trance. A second feast then was set on the raised building, where the high priest had officiated, and again men and women, as well as the priests, went into trance. The Rangda mask, moved from the shrine at the side to the central Durga shrine, received special attention during the invocation to the trance, was especially "smoked" with the incense brazier, and her tongue, particularly, was lifted and held over the brazier in the smoke. When a sufficient number of people had gone into trance, the mask was lifted and put on one of the men, who in his trance impersonated her until he fell unconscious. Other men, not wearing the mask, also behaved as "subjective Rangdas."

Thereupon, one of the priests from a neighboring temple called out in trance, "Come forth, *widadari*," referring to the little gods, and the young girls and women took them from the shrine and danced with them, or rather, caused them to dance. These girls, too, then fell into trance, but only after dancing for a time and after a "crossing of spears" (*maloeang toembak*) ritual dance had been performed by the men and, impelled by

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this, several had drawn their krisses and done the self stabbing (*ngoerek*) characteristic of the Barong play. A second man then wore the Rangda mask for a time. He danced but did not speak. When the little gods had finally achieved the validation of the going into trance of their bearers, the ceremony was at an end.

Sindoe, April 26,1937 (*night*). Let us take a sequence of behavior of one of the men, an ordinary villager, noted on this occasion. I Toeroen is distinguished from the other men who "follow" the Barong and Rangda only in that, when it is time to go into trance and stab themselves, Toeroen does not only the ordinary pattern of pressing the kris against his breast, he also uses two krisses and presses a kris against his cheek.[1] On this night, while the dance with offerings to the different shrines was going on (9:56 P.M.) Toeroen was remarked putting a burning brazier before the Rangda mask, taking up the tongue and holding it over the brazier in the smoke. At the first "feast" (11:50 P.M.) Toeroen sat with a number of other men on one side of the mat where the offerings were spread, between I Poetoe and Ida Tereh, both of whom at times played Rangda. Opposite him sat a row of girls, and at each end one of the priests. Toeroen followed the ritual in step with the others, until, at 12:32 A.M. when the leaf cups with libations were passed around, he took his to the Rangda, smoked it in the brazier before her, made an obeisance, and spilled out the contents before her. In a few moments this brazier was brought and set before him. I noted:

12:54 A.M. Toeroen lifts libation cup again, drinks, puts hands on brazier before him. 1:00 A.M. Priest from Patal gives a shout, "Wha!" and begins to talk in trance, something about the temple and the little gods who have newly arrived. I Poetoe with a violent motion goes in trance—he knocks against Ketjig who dodges. . . . Ida Tereh (a Rangda player) goes in trance making Rangda sounds, "Huh-huh-huh-huh," exhaling, low in throat. Ida Tereh takes at once a characteristic posture, with elbows tight against his sides, hands extended, rigid, with the fingers slightly curved. He leans against another man. (He held this pose about half an hour.) One of the women begins to talk in trance, leans far over the brazier, then falls back-

[1] The Dutch psychiatrist, Dr. P.M. van Wulfften-Palthe, who came to Bali to expertize some of these trance performances noted that when Toeroen, in trance, was pressing the kris against his cheek there appeared a rigidity in the cheek muscles such as appeared on the chest of the other trance performers who directed their krisses at a point on the chest. It is not the rigidity of the point attacked so much as the rigidity in the arms holding the kris, both extensors and flexors contracted at once, which keeps the entranced from wounding himself. Still, it is interesting that the contraction of the muscles in the point attacked should be readily discernible to the trained eye (van Wulfften-Palthe, 1940).

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wards, is held up by somebody. The old priest begins to shake with a tremor. His eyes are open. He takes up a brazier and with growls pretends to bite the edge of it, at once makes a dance gesture with his left hand and arm, bringing the hand down with a flourish on his left knee. Shouts, "*Keraoeh*!" (meaning the gods have entered the entranced). His eyes are open. Then he sits, nodding. Toeroen leaps forward into the center of the circle, leaping on thighs, then falls backwards—unconscious. Ida Tereh's hands are still rigid, tremor in the right only. Ketjig (a man who is said to be possessed by a tiger) shouts, "Boo-hoo-ha! *Keraoeh*!" He falls over, cries, sits up again after three seconds, nods, talks mumblingly. Toeroen's thighs jig; a brazier is held before him and the smoke wafted towards him; he hurls himself backwards with a shout.

Here the Rangda mask was lifted and set upon the head of a man, Ida Njoman, who had previously wafted the smoke from a brazier towards it. He came into the center of the circle formed by the other trancers. My notes read:

Agitates hands up and down, shouting, then collapses as if unconscious. 1:22 A.M. His hands are held out from his body like those of Ida Tereh; his breathing, pants (heard through the mask at a distance of eight to ten feet), is loud; he has a tremor in the hands; as the tray is offered to him the tremor stops, but the hands are still held up. Ida Tereh also has his hands still rigid by his sides, with tremor. 1:27 A.M. Rangda cries out, "Wha-wha-wha!" a high pitched yowl. Then the mask is taken off, replaced on the shrine. The *gamelan* orchestra (which had been playing loudly) pauses.

The old priest calls for a live baby chick. A stir passes through the crowd as they say "*iber iber*" (chick), an offering which is eaten alive. Ida Tereh begins to talk, yowls, cries, as chick is brought him he puts his hands out to take it, eats the head (no particular disgust or relish noted). A woman gives him a leaf cup of *arak* which he drinks to wash it down. He cries again during this, before and after drinking. When he has drunk he falls backwards, and his hands again are extended, closer to his sides than before. He resumes this pose after doing anything, eating the chick or taking the *arak*, sitting, lying, or standing.

It is this type of behavior, highly patterned, stylistically shaped by the culture, oriented towards participation in the ritual even when the entranced is in the "disassociated" state, which is expressive on a deeper level of what I have called these "subjective Rangdas." Let us see now how the females, with their little gods, behaved in the trance on the same night.

The priests and special trance people were seated on the platform (*balé pjasan*) for the second feast. One of the visiting priests called out, "*Alon alon widedariné*!" calling for the heavenly nymphs, who are the spirits of the little gods, to come forth. The girls who were to dance with them were

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adolescent and young married women, the loveliest of the village, ranging from twelve to twenty-five years old.[a]

It is 1:50 A.M. The girls take down the little gods from the shrine, hold them in the right hand, by the waist. They form in two lines, facing the Durga shrine, and libations are poured before them. The *gamelan* is playing a delicate, tinkling tune. The two lines face each other, cross and recross in the tiny court; then they dance in a circle while a woman carrying a smoking brazier dances in and out of the circle. The *gamelan* plays the climactic music (called *batel*) as if this were the moment to go in trance, but it does not happen. The old priest takes the little gods from the dancers and replaces them in the shrine.

The men continue with the order of the ritual, the ceremonial "crossing of spears" (*maloeang toembak*). Ketjig (who is possessed by a tiger) and I Poetoe go into trance and do the self stabbing before the Durga shrine. The small boys shout. Ida Tereh comes down from the platform where he has been sitting all this time; he is led forward; he steps stiffly, his eyes closed, his hands extended at his sides. They place the Rangda mask on him. He dances. He pauses. He dances again. Then someone calls for a libation. The mask is taken off him. He sits before the Durga shrine. He holds up a brazier of hot coals, puts it down, buries his face in it, puts his hands on it, rubs hands on face. He holds a leaf cup over the brazier. He takes up the brazier in both hands, raises it before the shrine. He takes a leaf cup of *arak*, circles it three times over the brazier, and spills it on the ground. Assistants pour again into the leaf cup a little *arak*—all that is left in the bottle—and he drains this off at a gulp. He puts his hands again on the brazier and to his face, three times. He turns around. He puts on his head-cloth. He gets up and walks off out of sight behind the shrine.

It is nine minutes past two. The girls take the little gods again. Moenet (one of the young married women, an excellent dancer) leads with the brazier. A stand covered with offerings has been placed in the center of the court. The priest from the Patal temple prays and pours libations. Ketjig (the tiger) is in the center of the circle of girls dancing. He prowls around the offering stand. (It is said that what he does in his tiger impersonation is to devour offerings.) As the girls dance in a circle only Ketjig and the priest are in the center.

The priest speaks to Ketjig. He pours a libation from a bottle all around the offering stand on the ground. Moenet, with the brazier, begins a wild dance, her eyes staring. This starts them all off. Simultaneously, Ketjig begins to do *ngoerek* (self stabbing) in the center. A little plump girl, Ngales, about fourteen, falls down on her knees, her legs one to each side, crying loudly and hysterically. The girls go on dancing; one by one they give a shout and fall down crying. Ketjig falls flat on the offerings on the stand, but just lies there stiff, does not devour any of them.

[a] They are called here *sang hyang boeng boeng*, and all have the names of flowers (*boenga* means "flower"). In other parts of Bali *sang hyang* dancers are little girls who go into trance but who must stop dancing when they reach adolescence. The *sang hyang déling* of the Kintamani area and those of Bajoeng Gedé studied by Bateson and Mead have little puppets on a string (*déling* means "puppet") and these must be "animated" before the little girls go into trance (see Plate V).

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If, as the girls go into trance, the little gods they are holding fall over, the old priest quickly goes to the girl who holds one and straightens it, so that it is upright between her knees. Most of the girls keep their little gods upright, held in their two hands vibrating them strongly, like the wooden stick on which the puppets are strung in *sang hyang déling*. Moenet and one other girl dance wildly out from the circle over towards the entrance gate. The other girl falls first. Then Moenet makes a wild dash forward, spilling the coals from the brazier, and goes down too amongst the others. All are crying, but Ngales, loudest.

There was a sense that the purpose of the festival had been achieved. It was 2:35 A.M., more than twenty-five minutes since the last attempt to put the bearers of the little gods in trance had been begun. Everyone was ready to go home now; the party was over for tonight. The old priest came forward and sprinkled holy water on the girls. The little gods were taken from them, replaced on their shrine. To each the incense brazier was passed; they stretched out their hands over it and wafted the smoke to their faces. Then, as the old priest sprinkled them once more, each made the gesture of obeisance (*soembah*) toward the main shrine and came to herself. Ketjig, too, without fuss, had gotten up from the offering stand and gone away.

Sindoe, December 13, 1937 (*night*). I want to juxtapose here some notes on these same girls taken by Margaret Mead some eight months later, in the same temple. It had been said in trance that the little gods (*sang hyang loeng boeng*) should be taken out and danced every fortnight, at full moon and dark moon, to guard against illness. The village was busy meanwhile training a "baby *djangér*," a set of dancers ranging from three to six years, and it had again been said in trance that these small dancers should follow the small gods, just as the small gods follow the goddess, (*betari*). A further prescription was that they should carry with them a tiger banner to keep them safe from bad spirits and illness. The banner, however, was not yet ready so the little troupe went about accompanied by Ketjig, the man trance dancer who becomes a tiger.

At nine o'clock on the night of December 13, 1937, the children were dancing *mèndét*, with offerings; two little three year old girls were the center of interest.

Wajan starts to dance by herself, stops. Dajoe Basang Gedé starts; then both dance and rub noses.

The other children came on in pairs, the boys, too, burlesqueing it a little. Then Moenet, the lovely dancer who had been so conspicuous on the night just described, April 26, 1937, danced forth with an offering. Margaret Mead's notes say:

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796 [535] Moenet . . . Her dancing is impersonal yet sensuous, where the *légongs* (formal child dancers) are also impersonal but not sensuous. She uses the curves of her matured body, but, one feels, for no human purpose and bound to no human emotion. Contrast with Aijoe in Kepaon, who is a beautiful, mature woman dancing as such. Ngales comes and dances with her. Ngales contrasts strongly with Moenet's aloof, reserved, unhurried poise; although she dances well she is definitely aware of the gallery—a little bitch.

[857] [778] The children danced again with offerings. At 9:38 the little gods were taken down from the shrine by Ketjig, handed to the girls, who performed again the dance in two lines which cross, then the figure in a circle, as before. Up until two minutes past ten o'clock they continued, the orchestra playing, people shouting, "caught on a plateau of waiting" to go into trance. It was expected that a certain Dajoe, a girl of Brahmana caste, would be the first to go into trance. She was. The notes say:

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> Dajoe goes down on her knees, digging the *boeng boeng* (little god) into the ground, head down. The old priest comes and takes the *boeng boeng*. Dajoe holds her hands clasped between her knees, continues to sway . . . Dajoe is getting more excited. . . . Ketjig gives a yell, faces each and glares into her face. . . . Second girl goes down, knees pointing out, wide apart, also digs the doll into the sand, screaming and crying. Moenet dances over her. Moenet gives the impression of being a sort of presiding genius, infinitely more advanced in the mysteries which are under foot [afoot?]. . . . Ngales goes down, digs her doll *into her lap* and into the sand. Priest drags Dajoe forward, in tears.
>
> 10:10 P.M. First two in trance are now out. Moenet is still dancing around the group. She puts her arm lightly, so lightly, now around one, now around another. She weaves in and out, touches the ones on the edge, gathers them into the group. (Comment) This is the most witchlike thing I have seen in Bali, the lightness, the sense of weaving a spell, catching the neophytes in a net with cool, light, impersonal Evil, is very strong.
>
> 10:11 P.M. (Dancer) number five throws her doll down and buries her hands in the sand, arms straight in front of her and parallel, rises and sinks on her hands, crying. Priest takes her and drags her up. Third and fourth are now out of trance, sit and watch. This is the most serial trance that I have ever seen.
>
> 10:19 P.M. . . . Dajoe scatters fire all about her and falls screaming. Moenet now goes in, yelling and walking about. . . . Dajoe rocks back and forth on her knees. . . . Moenet screams on—a thin, unearthly sound, neither like the male kris dancers roar nor the shrill female kris dance scream. (Note: The *gamelan* players, to get them in trance, gave regular male kris dance shrieks —cross stimulus on a high level.)

[152] [533] Moenet on this occasion did not ever fall to the ground. At the last, the group of girls sat with the *boeng boengs* held erect on the tip of their knees. The priest sprinkled them. Ketjig took the little gods from them and put them back on the shrine. When all of the girls had given theirs up, Moenet

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wafted smoke towards hers three times and sat back relaxed and gave up her little god figure to Ketjig.

Margaret Mead distinguishes here the outstanding trance performers and sees in their differential behavior a greater or lesser degree of witchlike character in the female role. It is also quite clear that she sees in the little god figures something equivalent for the female to the kris for the male, something between a phallus and a baby. In her view, as in mine, there is an underlying principle of female fertility symbolically expressed in the little puppet-like figures. But the witchery, the threat, and the evil quality she sees surrounding this aspect of the ceremonial I tend to see rather in the Rangda manifestations and in the undifferentiated aspects of the Durga theme.

Sindoe, April 27, 1937 (*afternoon*). Let us go back now to the Barong and the part he and his followers played in this village on the second day of the three day festival with which we were dealing earlier. Prominent on this day were Ketjig, Toeroen (who stabs himself in the cheek), and Poetoe, one of the subjective Rangdas. The play began about five-thirty in the afternoon. Ketjig was prowling up and down the performance place outside the temple when the Barong began to play. A secondary Rangda, also masked, called Pendemprat, is here so powerful that it is said as soon as she turns around the kris dancers go into trance. The order of events was, then, first a dance of Barong opposite Raroeng (played by Toeroen), the Rangda's chief pupil. Then Rangda (played by Poetoe) was led out from the temple. Barong again danced opposite Raroeng. Then Barong retires; Raroeng tells Rangda she was beaten. Rangda, furious, dances her angry dance. Barong comes up, challenges Rangda; they dance their eternal enmity. Then the secondary Rangda, Pendemprat, is led out from the temple and stands, her back turned, facing away from the dance place. Barong and Rangda continue their dance, and the trancers gather at the other end of the space. There is a commotion—they go off too soon. They have to be held, forcibly restrained. But Ketjig is not one of the premature ones.

Pendemprat turns around. Seven men dash towards her and fall, among them Toeroen and a child. Ketjig is the first to dash the length of the place, fifty yards, and fall at her feet. His lips move; he pants; his eyes are closed. He lies with his arms extended, right arm bent at elbow, hands relaxed palms up.[4] The Barong approaches and stands over the men in trance. Ketjig's

[4] Dr. van Wulfften-Palthe published, in a paper on these subjects, a photograph of Ketjig in such a fit as an example of the *totstellreflex* (van Wulfften-Palthe, 1940).

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belly pulses; the fingers of his left hand move. When the Barong comes over him he leaps up at once; he cries; assistants take hold of him and drag him off toward one end. He bends over at the waist. They hold his arms. With an explosive exclamation, "Tja!" he suddenly rises up, eyes open. He looks around. He and three others are given each a kris; they are released when they get the kris. They dance toward the Barong. Ketjig stops when about fifteen feet away, does *ngoerek* (self stabbing), dances up a few steps, does *ngoerek* again. They take his kris away from him. He is given holy water, rubbed on his face. He is panting. He wipes his face in the beard of the Barong. He cries out, "*Mepamit*! *Mepamit*!" (meaning, "Let me go! Let me go!") twice, rather sharply. He steps to the side of the Barong, where he stands watching the others. Within three minutes of the time he got the kris, he was out of trance, his breathing regular. The whole length of his trance was twenty-two minutes.

The others are having their turn at doing *ngoerek*. A man called Kanté has two krisses. He stands in the center holding them still till another man has passed a particularly violent "fit" in the center of the space—then he takes the center of the stage and does *ngoerek* with both krisses, one pointed on either side of his chest. Ketjig leans forward to look at him. Someone in the crowd exclaims, "Two!"

A man is very agitated, he wants the kris. Several people are trying to hold him while he thrashes about, standing. Ketjig becomes very excited, exclaims, "*Aéng*! *Belog*! *Sing tawang apa*! *Baang kadoetan*!" ("Horror! Stupid! Have you no sense? Give him the kris!")

One by one the men do *ngoerek*, and are brought out of trance by being given a drink of holy water from a coconut. They say "*Mepamit*!" (a form of taking leave) to the Barong sharply, as if recalcitrant, then wipe their faces in Barong's beard.

Poetoe, no longer in the Rangda mask, is standing, being held, growling like a Rangda. He has not had the kris yet. Someone calls out, "That's enough." Toeroen is doing *ngoerek* in his cheek. Then he holds the kris straight down towards the ground for a pause; a tremor shakes him. With a dramatic nod of his head towards the Barong, like a challenge, he begins to stab himself again in the cheek. It takes five men to hold him when they want to take away the kris.

Poetoe is given the kris. He makes two dance steps slowly forward towards the Barong, makes growls like Rangda, "Oh-oh-oh-oh!" He leans far back as he presses the kris in his chest—holds this pose quite still while he appears to press very hard, does not bend back and forth as is usual. He backs up. He speaks in trance.

"*Ih semoet nirané, mara anak toea tjontoina.*" ("O my subjects, at last you've tried an old person.") "*Apang tawanga* I Langlang Boeana *djani!*" ("Let them know I Langlang Boeana now!" This is the name of one of the evil gods in this area.)

Poetoe begins to sob as he talks. All around him people call out, "*Woesan!*" ("Finish!"). Poetoe sits down crosslegged before the Barong. People tell him to *nangkil*, that is "to go into the presence," meaning that he is to go inside the temple. He is walked by two men, then, into the temple. He sits. He leans back, his thighs jigging. He pants, growls. His belly goes in and out with the breathing. His arms are extended, fists lightly clenched on the ground.

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The Barong enters the temple, too, and stands over Poetoe. Beside him is Toeroen, now out of trance, and, opposite the Barong with their backs to the shrine of Durga, are the two priests, the old priest of Dalem and the priest of Patal. A smoking brazier is before them. Poetoe goes on talking in trance using ceremonial conventionalized phrases, while the priests "yes" him, saying "Yes, Lord" to his commands.

"*Sangkal ada dasaran, sira mitjaang, saking isengisengan*? *Pirengan sangkaling kenken, sangkaling demen adjoem, sangkal ada kéne*? *Jan keto megiling pedasarané. Sakewanten éling medal* Ratoe Pemajoen. *Pedasaran* Ratoe Doesoen *ring* Langlang Boeana, *soewood keto mara pitjaang.*" ("Inasmuch as there are trance spokesmen, who accords it, by whose grace? How is it, followers, as happy and proud, it should be like this? And so the trance spokesmen go in procession. Only remember to bring forth the Lord Pemajoen (a name of the Barong). The trance spokesmen of the Lord Doesoen in the land of Langlang Boeana. That's all. No more is given.")

As he says this Poetoe's eyes are open. He leans forward a little from the waist, sways back and forth. All around, people are singing the wailing chant called *mekidoeng*, doing honor to the godly presence. They bring a scarf to put around his upper body, and a headcloth is placed, not on his head, which would be improper, but on his shoulders. (This is equivalent to the ceremonial dressing of the *sadegs*, trance spokesmen, when they perform the trance séances in the temple.) The Barong snaps his jaws. The priest of Patal takes the Barong's beard and smokes it in the brazier. He wafts the smoke, still facing the Barong. Poetoe is swaying back and forth from the waist. Again the Barong snaps.

The priest waves towards the Barong with a little fan of palm leaf. He holds a live chick out before him, dedicates it. Poetoe puts out his hand for the chick, turns to face the Barong. Holding the chick at arms' length, with one gesture he pops it straight into his mouth. He munches showing no disgust.

Toeroen, meanwhile, is given a raw egg, which he drains and throws down the shell. He puts his hands three times over the brazier and to his face. Then he turns to make a reverence to the Barong.

Toeroen is offered *arak*. He extends his hands, then crosses them on his chest, extends them, crosses them. He repeats this three or four times, as in a daze. Finally he takes it saying, "*Tiang noenas*" ("I accept"), and drinks. He is sprinkled and given a sip of holy water. He makes his reverence to the shrine of Durga. Then he turns around again and makes a reverence to the Barong saying, "*Titijang mepamit*" ("I beg permission to depart").

Poetoe turns away at once and begins to discuss his share of the offerings. He calls to someone to come and take his share, to carry it home. He is immediately quite business-like and present.

Then the Barong goes out, and all the Rangdas in their baskets, followed by all the people, who go shouting and banging on the *gamelan* down the road, home to Taman.

It is very striking that the women and young girls played no part at all on this afternoon; the whole Barong and Rangda play, with its accompanying trances, was given without their participation with the exception of the preparation of the necessary offerings. They did act as audience, and that, perhaps, is their important role when the dramatizations are being put

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on. Both the parts of Barong and of Rangda are taken by men, so that the male and female aspect of the dramatization is taken off the plane of ordinary humanity and lifted to the level of the masked supernaturals. It seems clear that, when the players who are enacting these supernaturals are doing so simply because they are so cast in the theatrical performance, there need not be any identification such as I have pointed to in the course of the temple ceremony.

In the course of our study we were careful to collect as many introspective statements of the Balinese principals in these trance performances as it was possible to glean, by interviewing them ourselves or by sending our especially trained secretaries to do so. The non-verbal character of the Balinese made these statements relatively unrevealing. It was, apparently, almost impossible for a Balinese trance subject to put into words what he had experienced, even though the acting out, the attitudes and gestures of his performance, had been most eloquent. The things the Balinese have to say about their trance experiences are so very stereotyped, they are so tongue tied, so lacking in any sort of flow of really personal descriptive quality, that the very meagerness of their expression becomes a point to be noted. It is for this reason that we reproduce here the translations of two conversations, taken down in Balinese by G.M. on the days immediately following the ceremonies that we have been describing. The first is with a male subject, the second with a female. They are fairly typical of a very much larger number of interviews intended to throw light on the subjective experiences of our trance subjects.

G. M.—On the trance of I Toeroen. The Njonjah ordered me to ask about I Toeroen's going so often into trance. That's what I was ordered to ask about by Njonjah. She told me to ask whether at the time when he began to go in trance he was ill or not. That's what I was ordered to ask. It was evening, then, and I met the priest of Dalem (*Mangkoe Dalem*) and I asked him about I Toeroen. The child of I Toeroen is called I Rebig and he plays *ketjak* (in the *djangér* dance). That child is still only five years old. That child is like in shape to I Toeroen. I Toeroen is not very old, but he is still *njalah* (half old). At evening, then, I questioned the priest. The priest said that he was not a person who had been sick, not at all. He was a person who often went in trance (*keraoehan*) at the time of the Barong (play) in (the village of) Taman. I then further questioned the priest thus, "If it is so that I Toeroen was not ill formerly, what is it called then, when it's like that?" The priest of Dalem said, "When it's like that, if he is not ill first, all of a sudden he can go in trance at the time of the festival, and that is called *djedjawatan* (official—?, from *djawat*, Malay, an office, a post), and those who are ill in the beginning are called *kesekoeng* by the gods." I Toeroen at the time of going in trance with the Barong (play) most often stabs his cheek as well as

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his chest. I Toeroen at the time of the festival in Sindoe goes in trance with great strength, entered by the Yellow Tiger. This Yellow Tiger is a follower from the temple of Patal. At the temple of Patal or at the Temple of Death of Sindoe, when it is the time of going in trance he very often, too, stabs at his eyes as well as his cheek. When the Barong of Taman is playing he goes along every day. I Toeroen is also a member of the club of the Barong from Taman.

I Ketjig is older than I Toeroen. He also very often goes in trance at the time of the Barong (play) and also at the temple of Patal and at the Temple of Death in Sindoe. He, when he goes in trance with the Barong, stabs at his cheat and closes his eyes. He is a person who goes in trance twice. . . . When I Ketjig goes in trance later he is entered by the Black Tiger, follower of the goddess of Poelaki. When he goes in trance first, he is entered by the Black Tiger and when I Toeroen is entered by the Yellow Tiger at the same time, the two of them devour the offerings (to the evil spirits) which are spread on the ground. Such offerings (*tjaroe*) are often spread on an offering stand. Such a presentation of *tjaroe* offerings at a temple festival goes last. And when the offerings are circumambulated by the people dancing in single file around them, it is called *kantjang kintjoeng*. In Sindoe, as soon as the offering is given (literally, set going), in a moment there are people going in trance, stabbing themselves. In Intaran, after the people have done *kantjang kintjoeng* they, too, go in trance and stab themselves. But in Sindoe when this happens it is called *mebiasa*. As soon as the people have had *mebiasa* the festival is finished.

I was able to ask I Toeroen about I Toeroen's going in trance with the Barong. I Toeroen answered of himself, "If I am following the Barong and if, for example, he is playing in Taman, while I am walking along it happens that my heart (*ati*, liver) feels good (*melah*) for no reason, or if the masked players have already danced and the Barong, I have no thoughts of any kind. Then, when a little later the Raroeng (minor witch) has already come forth and has fought with the Barong, my thoughts are evil (*gedeg*, bad) to look upon Raroeng. And what is more, when the Barong is spoken roughly to by Raroeng, my thoughts grow stronger, and I desire to stab Raroeng. Then my thoughts suddenly forget everything (go unconscious); my only desire is to stab Raroeng, and my body itches. When Raroeng has gone off and the Rangda has come forth my thoughts grow stronger so that I cannot bear it. In my thoughts I dare to challenge the Rangda and Pendemprat. When the Barong has done fighting with the Rangda my thought is to attack Rangda, and my body is very itchy. As soon as the Rangda has finished fighting, the Barong runs off, and the Pendemprat comes forward. I want to pursue the Rangda at the time that the Barong runs off. People tell me that I fall down, But I do not know anything about falling down, and I do not remember falling down.

"In this fall of mine I do not remember anything. Perhaps I am picked up and held before the fire (brazier), I do not know. After a while again I come to myself (*inget*, remember), and all of a sudden I find the Barong standing before me. The people tell the Barong to order me to get up. As soon as I am awakened by the Barong, suddenly I am standing up, but my thoughts remain bad towards the Rangda. After a while I am given a kris, and, when I have had a chance to stab myself (*ngoesek*) and have been given a libation, the bad feeling towards the Rangda goes away. My feeling (thought) while stabbing myself is (of being) extremely pleased. If the kris were not taken

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away from me I would not have any desire to stop stabbing myself. While I am stabbing myself, I am one who comes to (*inget*, remembers) from moment to moment. As soon as I have done stabbing myself and have been given a libation, my thoughts are again as usual."

As soon as I Toeroen had finished telling about going in trance with the Barong (play) I asked him further about going in trance at the temple. I Toeroen related about going in trance in the temple as follows: "When I go in trance at the temple of Patal or at the temple of Sindoe my body suddenly gets hot, and gradually I lose consciousness (*engsap*, forget). The hotness comes from below, rising. When I go in trance in the temple suddenly my thoughts are different, and I lose consciousness for a short time. After that I again come to for a moment, then I lose consciousness for a moment. As soon as I have been offered sufficiently of the ritual purification and ritual food and drink, palm wine and *arak*, my feeling gradually grows good, and the trance disappears. A little later, if other people stab themselves, my thoughts are suddenly to desire to stab myself, and my body itches. As soon as I have done stabbing myself then the stabbing is over, and once again my heart (*ati*, liver) feels good.

"At the time when I am doing *ngoerek* in the temple, if the children or the older people shout (*mesoeriak*) my thoughts grow increasingly happy to stab myself."

When I Toeroen had finished telling about going in trance I left him and he went back to his house. The house of I Toeroen is to the east of the house of the priest of Dalem.

G.M.—Conversation with Ni Moenet.[8] As soon as I had finished following the Lady High Priestess in conversation, I went to the market, to the place where Ni Moenet has her selling stall. There I once more talked with Ni Moenet.

G. M.: "What are the names of the *sang hyang boeng boeng*, elder sister?"

Ni Moenet: "I do not know very clearly, perhaps they are Ratoe Majoen Sekar Djinar, Ratoe Sekar Gadoeng, Ratoe Sekar Gadoeng Melati, Ratoe Sekar Sandat, Ratoe Sekar Djepoen, Ratoe Sekar Toendjoeng, Ratoe Sekar Toendjoeng Beroe, Ratoe Majoen Manik Tedja, Ratoe Sekar Teleng, and Ratoe Sekar Minjeng."

G.M.: "When you are just beginning to dance, are you already in trance?"

Ni Moenet: "At just the moment of taking up the brazier I go in trance at once, but not altogether losing consciousness; I come to again and lose consciousness again. When I regain consciousness I feel ashamed, but while I am in trance I know nothing of being ashamed."

The participants have more to say about the ceremonial details and the deities personified than they do of their own experience. Nonetheless, one can judge by their total attitude, the intensity of their interest in the whole performance, that they have in it a considerable emotional investment which they are only incapable of putting into words. The trances of the temple ceremonies which take place late at night seem to have a deeper, more sub-

[8] My field notes say: From here (the house of the Brahmana family) we went to the market and found Ni Moenet selling at her stall. Not a very propitious place for introspective statements (April 28, 1937).

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jective meaning for the participants than do the masked plays. Yet there is no sharp line to be drawn between the two sorts of appearances; a man who has been playing in the Barong may be possessed by the god of the Rangda; a woman may find herself late at night stabbing with a kris at her breast as if she were a man or carried away in a trance state, speaking as the Rangda.

There is a strong point of difference here between Balinese culture and many primitive societies in which the enactment of the masked supernaturals is a strictly male prerogative, women are excluded from participation but are present as audience, and the children, too, up till adolescence. (In Hopi and Zuni, for example, among American Indians; in Australian bull roarer initiation ceremonies.) In such societies, initiation into the knowledge of the secret of the mask performers constitutes a validation of the masculine role, a landmark in the boys' development. In Bali the point of difference is not to be attributed only to the relative advancement of these people, the non-primitive, complex nature of their culture, but to an intrinsic qualitative difference, a special point of Balineseness.

An immensely important feature of Balinese culture, one which is deeply characteristic of these people and which continually arises in any analysis of their ritual and of patterned behavior, is the crossing of sex roles. The sex

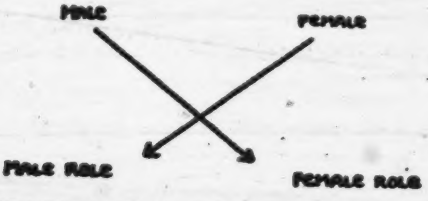

FIGURE 2. CHART INDICATING TREND TOWARD CROSSING OF SEX ROLES.

roles cross; they merge into an undifferentiated male female type and again are separated; there is a redivision of the sexes, which restores the polarity between them. These continual convergences and redivisions of the sexes are a part of their thinking, and much of the feeling at a deeper level, expressed in behavior, follows these lines. A chart of the relationships, overtly and covertly expressed, would look like this.

But, as the Balinese know, it is not so simpel as this. From the undifferentiated male female entity must again be separated off the male and female elements. The child, at first undifferentiated, repeats the motif.

This new being, created out of the union of the separated male and female

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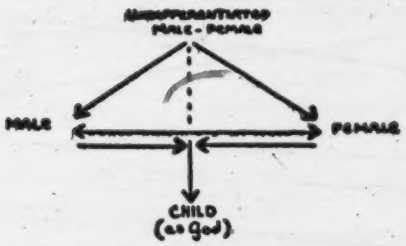

FIGURE 3. CHART INDICATING REESTABLISHMENT OF THE POLARITY AND EMERGENCE OF THE CHILD AS GOD.

elements, is like a god, and a god is like a child. It is the descendant, in a straight line, from the undifferentiated male female element, which will again divide as either its male or its female potential is realized.

Thus the whole picture could be schematized in this fashion.

The crossing of sex roles (there are in Bali both male and female transvestites) is one of the possibilities afforded by the culture. There is a definite high valuation placed upon the godly figure which combines the characteristics of both sexes, Sang Hyang Toenggal, The Solitary, or Tjintija, who preceded the separation of male and female in Balinese cosmology. He is, in time, before all the gods, before Siva, Brahma, and Vishnu. And, as each such god is in Bali, he is thought of as Man and Wife (*lanangistri*, or, Sanskrit *ardhanarisvara*).[6]

The complementary principle is stated and restated. Through the union of male and female, a child is created. The child, however, is once more of uncertain sex—at least up until birth. It is, so to speak, in a direct line of descent from Sang Hyang Toenggal for it contains the potentialities of both the sexes. The most godlike infants are male and female twins, said to be *ardhanarisvara*, man and wife, already married in the womb. Such twins are magically dangerous and make the village unclean (*sebel*) if they are born to people of low caste. For people of high caste they are a good sign for the boy is born like a god; he brings his wife with him out of the womb; he marries his sister. In this, the Balinese boy and girl twins repeat the theme of the Balinese legendary "original couple" who came together out of a coconut blossom.[7]

[6] Radhakrishnan, speaking of Hinduism in India, says, "Marriage is regarded as sacred. The very gods are married. When the Hindu descends from the adoration of the Absolute and takes to the worship of a personal god, his god has always a consort. He does not worship a bachelor or a virgin. Siva is *ardhanarisvara*, and his image signifies the cooperative, interdependent, separately incomplete but jointly complete masculine and feminine functions of the supreme being" (Radhakrishnan, 1927).

[7] Belo, 1935.

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The cycle of birth, death, and rebirth is thought of in Bali as continuous within a family line. It is not, as in orthodox Hinduism, considered possible to be reborn in a different caste from one's own. If a grandfather has recently died, it is thought most probable that a newborn grandson is his soul re-

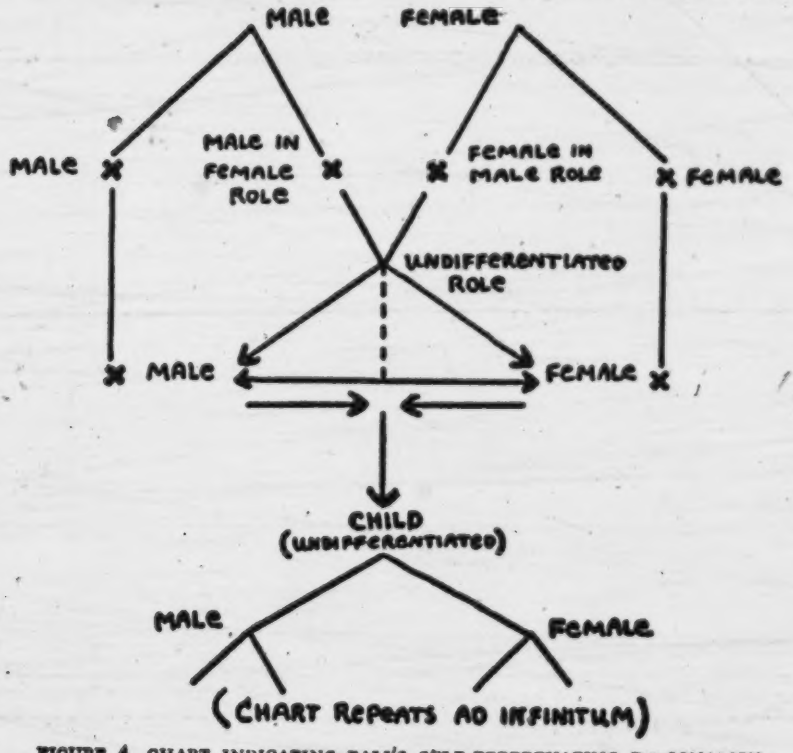

FIGURE 4. CHART INDICATING BALI'S SELF-PERPETUATING PERSONALITY SYSTEM.

turned to earth. Cremation ceremonies are, in Bali, directed to free the soul that it may be once more reborn. There is no other paradise than earth, and a return to living is the reward for adequate fulfillment of the dues imposed by Death. A man's descendants are responsible for the fulfillment of these dues, and it is of maximal importance that he have children so that they may perform this office for him and he may be reborn. Thus the system is circular and self perpetuating.

Rangda, in her connection with death, destruction, and disease, is but the ugly counterpart of living, procreation, and well being.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

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796

Rangda, making her appearance in the temple gate. She begins by collapsing.

Rangda's dance. She advances, in one hand the white cloth, the other hand in the *kapar* position.

The attack on the Rangda. (*Photos Gregory Bateson*)

[End Plate 1, following P. 62]

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796
796

Battle between Barong and Rangda.

Rangda and her pupils, minor witches.

[796]
[516]
[291]

Barong dancing to revive the fallen trancers. The priest is sprinkling them with holy water. (*Photos Gregory Bateson*)

[End Plate 2, following P. 62]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

A

B

C

A. *Metjaroe*. An offering to the bad spirits, spread on the ground in the 5 directions, N S E W and Center. The priest dedicates the offerings while the women perform *melis*, a purification.

B. The priest lifts the *tjanang rébong* to the base of the shrine. Note the Rangda figure on the corner, her long tongue and the child. Also the *lamak* panel which hangs as an "apron" from beneath her.

C. Women dancing *méndét*, a dance with offerings, as the sun rises at the end of the night of *odalan*. (*Photos author*.)

[End plate 3, following p. 62]

[535]
[291]

796
782

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

PLATE IV

Child dancers, inside the temple. Note fearsome male and female figures as "temple guardians."

Two of the baby dancers, 1939. (*Photos author.*)

The "ceremonial seating" of the *sadegs*, or gods' spokesmen, for the feast and the godly conversation.

K, M, and one of the child dancers, observing dancing.

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PLATE V

796
798

The *dewa alit*, "small gods," on the shrine. Note the leonine *pelinggihans* or mounts. (*Photo author.*)

A *déling* puppet from the mountain village of Bajoeng Gede. (*Photo Gregory Bateson.*)

Dancer and child dancer. Note likeness of pose. (*Photo author.*)

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[End plate 5, following P. 62]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

796
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One of the *daha*, maidens, in ceremonial dress at a festival in Tenganan Pagringsingan, an old style village. Late 1930s.

A child actor, in friendly conversation with a group from different villages. At left the priest, at right a musician and a caretaker. Late 1930s. (*Photos author.*)

[End Plate 6, following P. 62]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

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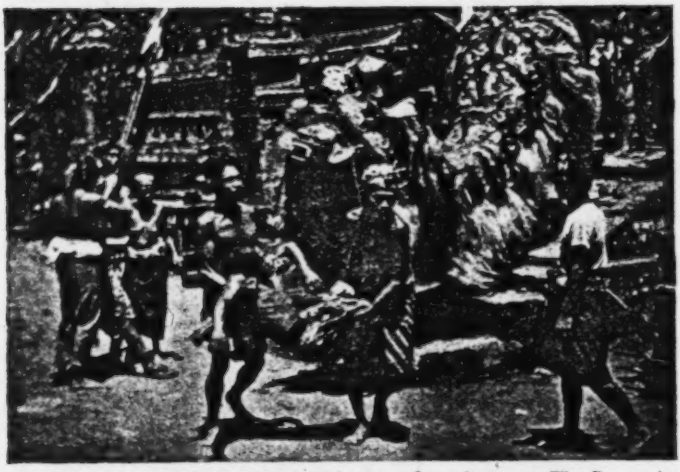

Carrying a trancer who has lost consciousness from the scene. The Barong in the background. (*Photo Gregory Bateson.*)

Forcing a trancer under the elevated mask of the Barong, in order to bring him to himself. (*Photo Gregory Bateson.*)

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The trancer is "smoked," to bring him out of trance. Note that he is held around the neck. (*Photo E. Sutherland.*)

[End plate 7, following P. 62]

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PLATE VIII

796
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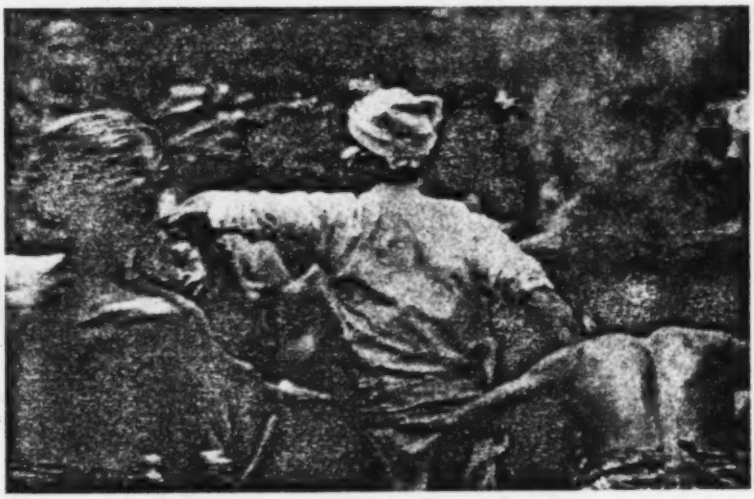
[516]

A trancer pressing the *kris* against his own breast.

[193]



Priest attempting to bring trancer under control. (*Photos author.*)

[End plate 8, following p. 62]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

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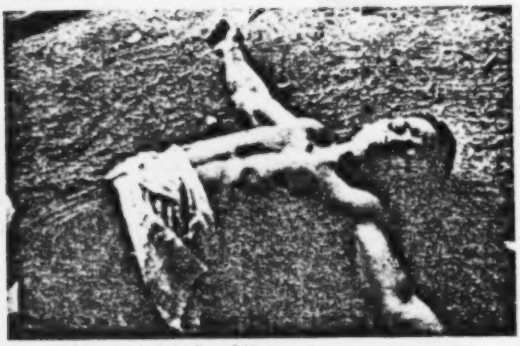

The limp stage in the first fall.

The contracting stage, which follows.

The "fighting" stage, as trancer if "disarmed."

[End Plate 9, following P. 62]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali
Ching AF1
Japan AB1

J
C
796
778
532

PLATE X

A Chinese Dragon, in New York City, 1948. (*Photo Rice, Herald Tribune.*)

J
[782]
[29]

A Japanese Dragon. Note woman putting pennies in his mouth. (*Photo Smithsonian Institution.*)

[End plate 10, following P. 62]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali
Japan AB1
Historical Java OE2

J
537
778

Dragon, Japan. (*Author's collection. Photo K. Lewis and B. Lillien.*)

H.
Java
532
778

Durga Mahisasuramardini, Prambanan, Java. (*after Keith.*)

[End Plate II, following P 62]

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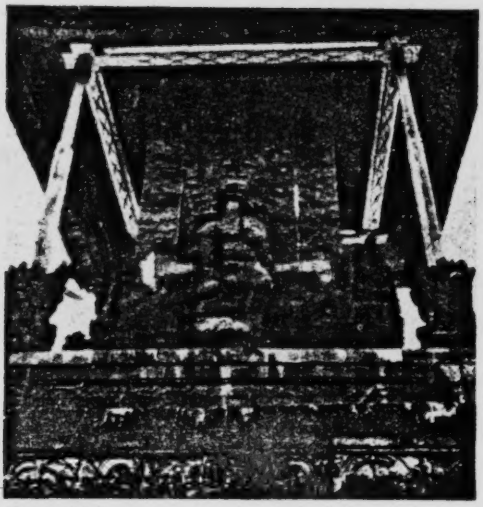
Durga Mahisasuramardini, Koetri, Bali. (*after Stutterheim.*)

Durga Mahisasuramardini, Koetri, Bali. (*after Stutterheim.*)

Durga Mahisasuramardini, Bedoeloe, Bali. (*after Stutterheim.*)



Durga Mahisasuramardini, Koeboetambahan, Bali. (*after Grader.*)

[End Plate 12, following P. 62]

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

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TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR INDISCHE TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

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1935

[Title Page]

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

A study of customs pertaining to Twins in Bali

by

JANE BELO.

Part I

Description of the Ritual at Sukawanã, District of Kintamani, Bali.

On the night of September 18, 1933, twins were born to a woman of Sukawanã. When the family saw that the twins were a boy and a girl, they knew that this was a great wrong, that disaster had come upon their house and upon their village.

A brother of the father ran to the open place before the Balé Agung, the village temple. There he beat upon the *kul-kul*, the hollow wooden alarm, so that all the men of the village would come together to hear the direful news. And the sleeping villagers awoke in their tiny houses still warm with the dying coals of the evening fire, and came forth wrapped in their blankets, for at night it is bitter cold on the slopes of the Gunung Pĕnulisan.

One by one they approached and took their places in the Balé Sĕkãhã, the meeting place of the men. The ancient men, two Kĕbayan and four Bau, priests and rulers of the village, sat cross-legged on the South East side of the platform, for that is *kajã* and *luanang* in Sukawanã, the direction of the mountains, the abode of the gods, and the highest place. When it was known that Ni Jungir had given birth to twins, of which one was a boy and one a girl, the ancient men said, "that is *manak salah*", that is to have children in a wrong way. And it was

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decided that at dawn of the next day the men should not go to their work in the coffee gardens, but gather at the house of I Lèwèr and Ni Jungir. There they should tear down the cursed house, every post and board and rafter of it, and carry it away out of the sacred limits of the village to the unholy (*tĕngĕt*) land on the edge of the graveyard (*watĕs sĕmă*). And the father and the mother and the new-born twins should be banished (*kĕtundung*) from the village, to camp on the unholy ground for one month and seven days (*asasih pitung dinä*). So did the village law decree. And during the time of banishment neither the father nor the mother of the twins might approach the village for any reason whatsoever. Their relatives would bring them rice, and the people of the village help to guard them at night from the dangers of the unholy place where they must sleep.

Furthermore all the hundred and seventy-five men who belonged to the Balé Agung, although they came from the four distinct divisions of the village, Tanah Dähä, Dajan Balé Agung, Kauh and Kangin, these men and their families would be for forty-two days [1]) unclean (*sĕbĕl*). The doors of the temples must be closed, no one might venture even into the outer court, nor might he step into the little square of holy land on which is built his *sanggah*, the household shrine.

At the end of this period there must be a great ceremony for the purification (*mĕrĕyaschitä*) of the village, for the turning off of the curse (*malik sumpah*) on the unfortunate (*lachur*) parents, with many offerings both to the gods (*batarä*) and to the demons and bad spirits (*kalä butä*). When these ceremonies have been accomplished, the people of the village will again be allowed to enter the temples to worship the gods. But the great feast, the *usabä*, which was to have fallen on the next full moon but one, six and a half weeks after the birth of the twins, had to be

[1]) The *sasih* is a month of 35 days. This month, plus seven days, makes forty-two days.

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postponed for two more moons. Instead a simpler *odalan* would be celebrated in the Balé Agung, and afterward the gods carried in procession to a temple one day's walk away, accompanied by four hundred of the villagers, to be fully cleansed with holy water of the evil which had befallen them (*mĕlis, ngĕlungayang*). This is the way of old. The people must obey the laws of the *kramă dĕsă*, for should they neglect the ritual in any form, famine would be upon the land, pestilence in the village, the crops fail, the beasts die. The birth of *anak kĕmbar bunching*, a boy and a girl, is the sign of disaster — only by strict adherence to the laws may the disasters be averted.

On the morning following the birth of the twins the men of the village tore down the house where they were born. It did not take long, for the houses of Sukawanä are but a single chamber fitted with a raised sleeping-platform on either side of a low hearth — three stones on a mud floor. The walls are of solid two-inch boards, the roof a shingle of split bamboo, turned inner side upward to make gutters for the rain. When the house was in pieces, the men loaded it on their shoulders and carried it off down the steep trail to the edge of the graveyard. Behind them came the women bearing mats, baskets, clay pots, a coconut spoon, all the furnishings and contents of the house. When they had finished, the place where the house had stood lay bare and empty, a break in the trim line of the compound, like the gap of a fallen tooth.

If the new house which was to be built up out of the materials of the old had been to accomodate only the family of the twins, the building would have been easy, for the wood is joined, the pillars fit into the beams, and the roof bamboos hang on their supports by slits cut in the lower side of each shingle. But the new *kubu* was to accomodate some fifty men. These were the watchmen, the *gĕbagan*, relatives and villagers who would take turns sleeping there beside the graveyard. Why must they watch — what must they watch for? Are they the keepers of the unlucky parents? No, the people say they come out of

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*845 [1006] compassion, to help the banished ones, for it is lonely beside the graveyard and evil creatures (*léyak*) roam there at night, and one would not dare to be there alone, no, not even ten strong men would dare to sleep there, but if there are fifty it is noisy and no one is afraid.

*845 [139] 349 So the villagers brought bamboo poles and rough mats of woven coconut fronds and sheaves of the long grass which grows upon the hillsides. With the posts of the old house and a few green trees as supports, they patched together a shelter some forty feet long by twelve feet wide. (The original house measured perhaps fifteen feet by nine). At the northwest end (*tĕbènan*) of the building a private room was walled off for the parents with the twins, provided with a hearth for their use. The watchmen have two long rows of boards laid on stones for their sleeping place, and a kitchen outside to the southeast. The mother and the father of the twins may not cook their food in the same kitchen with the watchmen, for they are too unclean. [252]

*845 By evening the *kubu* was ready, a draughty and uncomfortable place, for the reception of the unlucky family. The mother of the twins, still weak from a difficult birth, was carried down the hillside and installed in this prison which she might not leave for a month and seven days. The grandmother of the twins carried in a coconut shell their joined placenta, wrapped in cloth together with as much of the blood, amniotic fluid and sack, as could be collected. The *ari-ari* (placenta with umbilical cord) of any new [826] born child is called his brother (*nyamă*) and must be buried in or before the house. A shrine is made for this ugly and terrifying brother, and offerings given to it daily so [1018] that it may watch over the living child. The *ari-ari* of the twins was taken to the *kubu* and buried under the hearth in the private room of the parents.

I have heard in Bali that twins such as these are 'wrong' because the boy and the girl are as if married in the womb. I have heard also that if a boy child brings his wife with him out of the womb, it is a birth such as only gods and kings may have. For the common *sudră* it is an affront to

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the *rajă* (*mamadă rajă dalĕm*) to have children in this way. 845*

But Sukawană is a Bali-agă village, where the Hindu religion has never quite penetrated, where no high caste people have ever lived, and every man is born the equal of his fellow. I Lèwèr, the father of the Sukawană twins, said he was pleased when they were born, as a father always is to get a child. But his pleasure was offset and counterbalanced by the great trouble of their being boy and girl, for that meant a big expense to him. At the *mĕcharu* for the purification of the village he must provide a *kĕbo* (water-buffalo), a calf, and a pig to be sacrificed. The many offerings which must be made, the quantities of rice and coconuts and fowls would be at his expense, except for the contributions of his fellow-members in the Balé Agung. The village law decrees that each man must help the poor (*lachur*) father with gifts according to his means, but all that is not given falls to the share of the father, and he alone is responsible for the complete array of the offerings. I Lèwèr also loses his house, already torn down, for at the end of the forty-two days the *kubu* constructed from its materials must be burned to the ground. And all his possessions, his mats, his clothes, and those of his wife, must be burned also, or cast away into the river, so that nothing may remain which has been connected with the uncleanness of the birth of the twins.

But I Lèwèr was not ashamed. He said: "I am troubled (*sĕbĕt*), but I am not ashamed (*lĕk*)". He knew only that the big ceremony must take place to avert disaster from the village. He opened his eyes wide with surprise when we asked if he had heard that this was the Rajă's way to have children. "No", he answered, "I have never heard it".

We asked if people say that the twins are already married in the womb of the mother. I Lèwèr answered, "I do not know". And the old men sitting by said: "How can they, they are so small!"

But it was known in the village that if both children survived, they might, if they so wished when they grew up, marry each other.

[177] [564] [182] 845* 671 688 845* [582]

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*845 As for the mother, Ni Jungir, she had nothing to say, except that she had much trouble at the birth of the twins, for it was hard, and she lost much blood.

*845 852 783 Three days after their birth the knotted ends of the umbilical cord attached to the navels of the children had dried up and fallen off (*kĕpus pungsĕd*). Now could take place the ceremony called *mĕlĕpas aon* — literally translated the "loosing of the ashes", a purification which for the ordinary child takes place in the house, and after the observance of which the father and mother are allowed to go out from the house-court into the village, and the baby may be taken for the first time out of the inner room where he was born. In the case of these twins the ceremony took place in the *kubu* on the edge of the graveyard. The offerings, which include *nasi sĕgaan*, dedicated to bad spirits, tongs of bamboo and a blade of bamboo such as [782] [824] is used to cut the umbilical cord, and thorny branches of three kinds (traditional in many countries to drive off the evil spirits which attack new-born children), these offerings for the twins were not double, but followed the customary allotment for a single child. (The name of the ceremony is perhaps connected with an offering of cooked rice mixed with ashes, which must be included. But the meaning remains obscure and could not be explained by the people, except that it marks the freeing of the father, mother, and child from the uncleanness [1]) of the birth, when the last "dirty" piece of cord has dropped from the navel).

192 [1]) The word used by the Balinese is *sĕbĕl*. There is a tendency among European observers to give to the word a meaning connected with magic as well as its literal meaning of "unclean, impure". Dr. KORN, in *De Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan* (p. 163), says, „Bij de geboorte van het kind ... zijn moeder en kind magisch zwak, men noemt dit sbel welk woord in de regel met „onrein" wordt vertaald. Menschen die sbel zijn wegens de geboorte van een kind mogen geen bezoek van vreemden ontvangen. Dezen zouden de magisch zwakke kraamvrouw in gevaar kunnen brengen door hun eigen magisch vermogen".

But it seems to me confusing to impute such a meaning to the word *sĕbĕl*. The Balinese language has no general term for magic, although there are special words for charms, *sĕrandĕ*, *gundĕ*, and for 'supernaturally

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On the ninth day the boy-twin died. He was buried in the graveyard. The graveyard of Sukawanā has five divisions, running from *kajā*, nearest the mountains, to *kĕlod*, nearest the sea. The highest place, near the mountains, is reserved for young children who died before losing their first tooth (*tondèn mĕkĕtus*). The lowest place is for those who have died an unnatural or wrong death, who have died in an accident or taken their own lives (*salah patī*). The boy-twin was buried in the highest place. Alone amongst all the bodies those of the little children *tondèn mĕkĕtus* do not have to be later dug up and cremated. For cremation is a purification, and the little children have not yet any sins. This twin child, then, was not wrong nor sinful in himself.

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powerful through holiness', *sĕkti* (çakti), and the word *tĕngĕt* is applied to things and places fearful in appearance or charged with evil power, such as the witch *Rangdā*, or the placenta of a new born child, or graveyards, certain temples, trees, and bridges where supernatural manifestations are frequent. The Balinese have no abstract conception of magic, and they do not suspect that many of their customs and religious practices are considered by Europeans as forms of magic. Therefore it seems incorrect in trying to render the Balinese thought to bring in a concept which, though familiar to the observer, is foreign to Balinese thought. A woman Pĕmangku told me that she might never enter a house, even of her nearest relatives, during the three days after the birth of a child, for she who was in charge of the temple, where the gods are *sĕkti*, might not come in contact with that which is *sĕbĕl*. Relatives are *sĕbĕl* after a death in the family, and a woman at the time of menstruation. The high caste woman is for three days banished from the *puri* of the princes, and literally imprisoned in a special court. The Sudrā woman at this time may not sleep upon the same *balé* as her husband, although she bathes in the river and cooks his food. She may not enter the temples or the *sanggah* (household shrine). In the village of Sayan it is said that the goddess Durgā must leave the temple once a month, when she is *sĕbĕl*, and take up her place in the graveyard, where she may be given offerings at what is known as the throne of Prajāpati. (A mystic explained that Prajāpati is really a woman in the form of a man.) From these examples it will be seen that the word *sĕbĕl* means unclean in the sense of "dirty" and in the religious and mystical sense of "impure", but in the Balinese mind there is no direct and conscious connection of the *sĕbĕl* state with magical weakness.

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On the twelfth day after the birth of the twins the ceremony *nyambutin* was celebrated in the *kubu*. After *nyambutin* in Sukawanã the usual child and his parents are sufficiently purified to be allowed to enter the temples. Although for the family of I Lèwèr there still remained thirty days of exile, during which they might not even enter the village, much less the temples, still these small offerings had to be made according to custom.

During the last days the men of the village were busy at the *kubu* cutting trees into blocks for the chopping of the meat offerings, weaving rough trays of split bamboo, preparing skewers and sharpening knives for the feast. It is a part of the custom that the villagers must not only contribute to the offerings but lend their indispensable aid in the making of them, for it is an array such as no single family could prepare alone. In return they are treated to a feast at the expense of the father of the twins. In the houses of I Lèwèr's erstwhile neighbors the materials were collected. Each man sent his share, according to his means. If a rich man should send a poor contribution, he would be too ashamed! The women cooked the rice and formed it into little cones, and into cakes of varied shapes and colors, and of sugar and riceflour they made still other dainties for the gods and for the demons. They wove plates of palm-leaf, and decorative fanshaped, circular, and trailing *sampéans* as top-pieces for the offerings, all of the young yellow leaf cut with a knife in strong simple design. The part of the men is the killing and preparation of the animal offerings. On the day before the ceremony they killed the water-buffalo, skinned it, and cut and cooked the meat in various ways. The next morning the calf, pig, goat, goose, ducks, chickens, and the three-colored dog ('red', black and white) were killed and made ready. At eleven o'clock in the morning I Lèwèr's neighbors were still busy finishing the last dozens of palm-leaf decorations necessary for the offerings. When all was done the splendid array was laid out upon the bare ground where I Lèwèr's house had stood, and they were enough to completely

[P. 490(A)]

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Photo Walter Spies.

1. *The parents with the twin, the grandmother holding the pusuh.*

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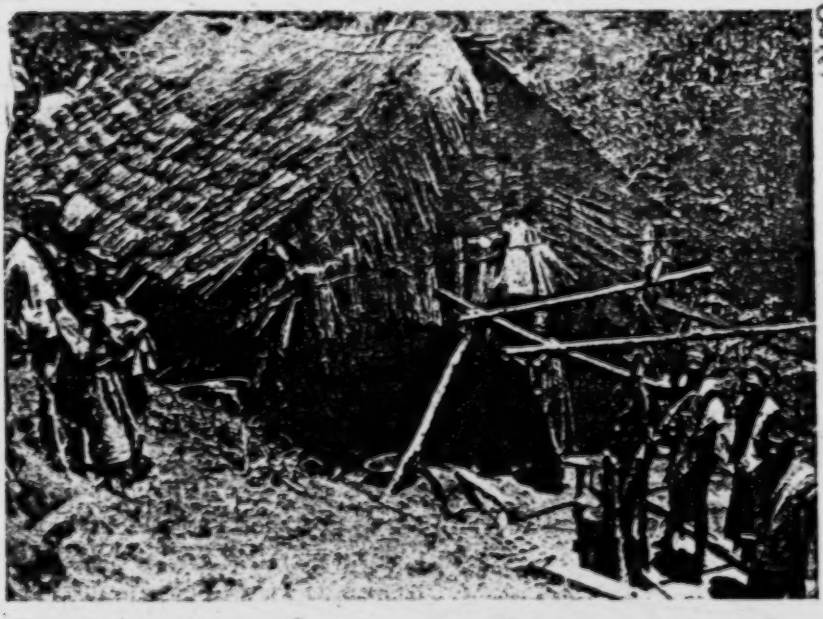

Photo Walter Spies.

2. *The big kubu for the exiles.*

[P.490(B)]

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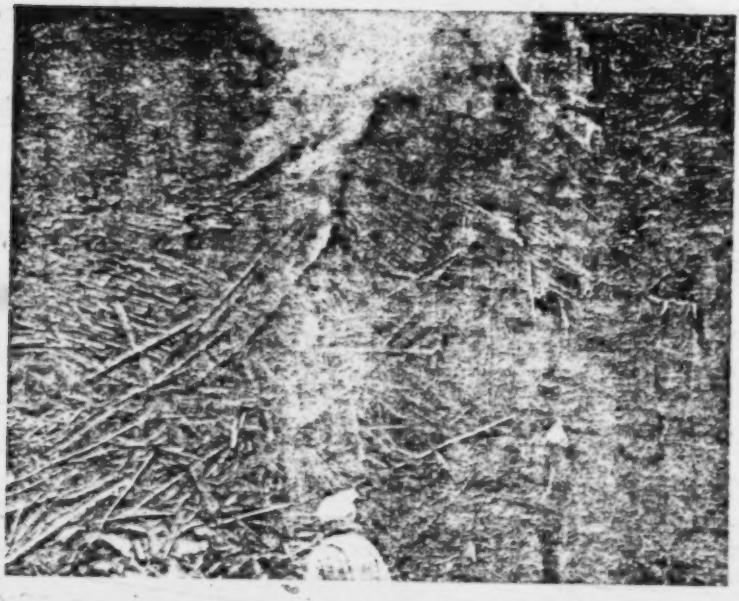

Photo Walter Spies.

3. The big kubu is burned down.

[291]

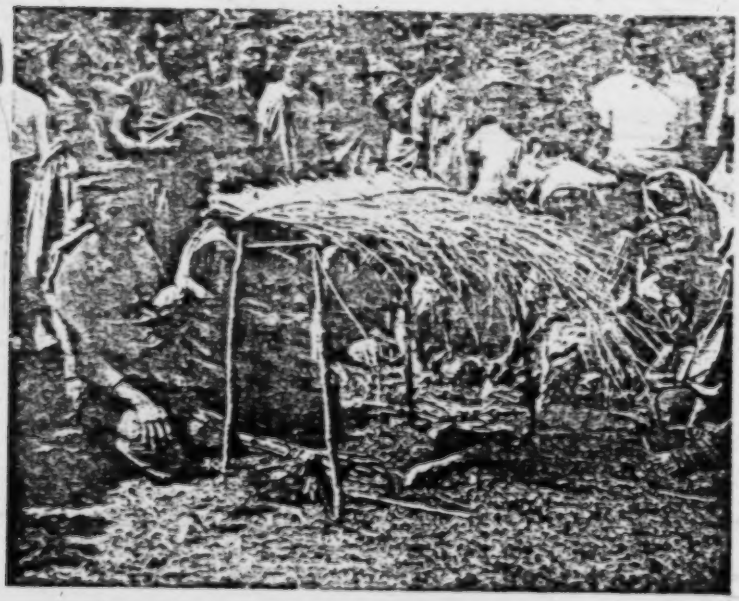

Photo Walter Spies.

4. Ceremony at the small kubu. The father holds the pusuh, the mother the twin. Each carries a knife with an onion impaled.

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cover the space. According to color and to kind the offerings were placed in specified positions, to the five directions, North, South, East, West, and Center. At the *kajă* corner stood the *sanggar tawang*, a bamboo 'throne' set up in honor of Surya, the Sun.

The ceremonies were to be celebrated by a *sĕngguhu* priest, a non-Brahman, called from a village some ten miles distant, assisted by the *balian* of the village (witch-doctor and medicine-man). *Sĕngguhu* priests belong to the older social order of Bali, before the Hindu castes were introduced, when the people were divided into guild-castes. What their rôle was before Hinduism is unknown, but today they are especially in charge of *mĕcharu*, formal offerings to the demons. At many big ceremonies, such as those at Bĕsakih, and in certain districts the yearly purification the day before *nyĕpi*, where the Brahman *pĕdanda's* officiate, the *sĕngguhu* is present to take charge of the *charu*. In such cases the *sĕngguhu* 'follows' or obeys the Hindu high-priest. But he may also officiate independently and alone, as was the case in Sukawanä. The *balian's* position in Sukawanä is anomalous. He has no place in the village council, the *saing*-23. At the formal sittings on the Balé Agung he has no special seat, but is grouped with the ordinary villagers. In other words, he is not only not a priest for the gods of Sukawanä, but he has no official position in the *kramä désä*.

Towards noon on the forty-second day after the birth of the twins, the Balian, accompanied by thirty or forty villagers, went down the hillside to the place on the edge of the graveyard, for the *kubu* must first be burned. A preliminary ceremony took place in the private room of the parents. The offerings were small, and consisted of (a.) *tĕbasan*, composed of rice and thread and *kèpèng's* (cash), arranged on *dulang's*, the offering trays, and (b.) *karangan manchä limä*, five little banana leaf plates of squewered pig meat and five little banana leaf plates of rice. These are arranged according to the five directions. The Balian repeated prayers in the old language, and sprinkled the offerings with holy water.

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*845 852 offerings with holy water. Before him knelt I Lèwèr and Ni Jungir. In the mother's arms was the girl-twin, swathed in white cloth. The father held a pseudo-twin swathed also in white cloth. This pseudo-twin was simply the dark [824] red flower of the banana plant, with the primitive drawing of a person impressed in the surface of the bud — a head, two arms and two legs roughly indicated, without attempt to denote the sex. The banana flower or bud is called *pusuh* [1]), and resembles a large heart in shape, while the name for heart in Balinese is *pĕpusuhan*, as if derived from the flower. The people of Sukawană had no other name for this substitute twin than *pusuh*, but they made it clear that it was intended to take the place of the dead boy-twin in the ceremonies.

[824] [918] Both mother and father held in one hand a knife on the end of which an onion was impaled. This 'weapon' is powerful against evil spirits, and has to be carried on all occasions when a new-born child is taken out of its own house-court [2]). I Lèwèr and Ni Jungir never let

[1]) In many districts of Bali such a "*pusuh*" is used at the ceremony called *mĕcholong* for new-born children, which takes place twelve days, forty-two days, or three months after the birth. It is one of a set of three *cholong*'s. The other two are a live chicken, and a *papah*, the stalk-base of a coconut frond, on which a cross or a rough drawing of a person is made in chalk. The chicken may be stolen for use in this ceremony ... *cholong* means steal. However the ceremony *mĕcholong* is for a live child, and seems to carry the meaning of providing substitutes for the living child so that the evil spirits which molest young children will be satisfied and leave the child alone. *Mĕcholong* and this use of the *pusuh* are unknown in Sukawană. The *pusuh* in this case, the people definitely stated, was intended not for the living girl-twin but to take the place of the dead boy-twin.

[2]) This rite is mentioned in a popular verse sung to little children in Bali:

[539] Bibi anu, lamun payu luas manjus, atĕngé tĕtĕkang, yatnain ngăbă mĕsui, tyuk puntul, bawang anggon pĕsikĕpan.

Anak lyu, bĕntjană dimargă agung, bajang alu bukal, mĕngisĕp nyonyo ngulanting, mĕngĕtĕkul mĕkrană tan pĕsu ĕmpĕhan.

Sangkan hitung, tuyuhé mĕpală lampus, ngulah bĕtĕk basang, rarine juwă ngĕmasin, dadi lachur, nyén anaké sĕsĕlang.

Sangkan lachur, numadi jĕlĕmă ĕluh, i mémé nyayangang, i bapă mĕpĕdang mati, yaning hidup, méménė anggon jalaran.

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these knives out of their hands throughout the day of the ceremony.

A fire was burning on the hearth in the parents' room. At the Balian's direction the mother took a handful of dried corn from an offering-plate and cast it into a new clay pot which rested over the flames. She stirred the corn about until it was brown. Then father and mother had to reach three times into the pot and eat a grain of corn. After the third time the father raised the pot and smashed it on the stones of the hearth.

Someone handed the father a torch of dry grass which he lit at the fire. He came out, bearing his false twin, his knife, and his torch, to set fire to his house. The mother followed with her child. The Balian repeated a short prayer, and then performed a final rite. In one of the offerings stood two cones of rice tied together at the top with a bit of thread, a *kèpèng* strung on to each. The top of each cone he pinched off, then he broke the joining thread. He rose, came out of the house, shut and bolted the door on the outside. None of the evil which was in that house must escape.

The villagers bearing torches lit from the father's fire set the house burning. In ten minutes the flames were leaping high, threatening the nearby forest. The Balian, the mother and the father, with a group of villagers and friends, stood on the hillside watching until the house crumbled to ashes.

It may be translated:

Mother, whoever you are, when you go to bathe, bind tightly your breasts, take care to bring with you mĕsui bark (cortex sp.), and a dull knife with an onion as charm.

Many wicked people threaten on the highway, evil spirits in the form of flying foxes, which suck at hanging breasts, taking their place at the breasts, so that no milk comes out.

Take into account that trouble brings death, even though the belly is filled, the baby is the cause of the trouble, and if bereaved, who will there be to envy?

The trouble is that the child was born as a girl, her mother loves her, her father would wish her dead, but while she lives, her mother will take care of her.

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*845 852 783 Before the parents with the twins might reenter the precincts of the village, their house must be burned three times. So they told us. We followed the group of villagers up a steep trail, not the direct route to the village, to a place where it joined the trail leading to the graveyard. A man carried a torch freshly lit with the same fire which had burned the big *kubu*. They had kept this fire alive by lighting a new torch as the last burned down. In the center of the trail stood a small *kubu*, four posts set up and covered by a roof of grass-thatch not more than a meter square. Under this roof was an improvised *paon* (hearth) and a clay pot such as was used before. The fire was lit in this *paon* from the torch bearing the old fire.

The Balian sat beside the little *kubu* and set out again [782] the offerings *karangan manchă limă* in the five directions. The father and the mother knelt beside their hearth. The Balian again dedicated the offerings, and the ceremony *nyah-nyah jagung* (to fry corn) was repeated exactly as described above. When the pot was broken, the father lit a torch at the fire on the hearth and ignited the roof of dry grass. It flared up like a match and was gone.

The people rose and made their way towards the village. Someone carried the torch which the father had used. When they came to the place just outside the wall of the outermost house-court, another small *kubu* stood waiting. With another set of the same offerings, again the [262] mother and father cooked their corn and ate three times from the pot. When this *kubu* was burned the torches could be cast into the flames. Three times I Lèwèr had taken fire from his kitchen and burned down his unclean house.

The Balian explained: three times the parents of the twins have just come to a new house, they have cooked and eaten there, and then set fire to it — this is to show, he said, that they are miserably poor, they have nothing (no house, no possessions), so that the people of the village will take pity on them. Someone in the village will have

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to give them shelter in his house, since they have no longer any house of their own [1]).

I Lèwèr and Ni Jungir, after forty-two days of exile, were now free to enter the village. They walked slowly and with dignity down the street where their old house had stood, each carrying a "twin" and each firmly grasping a knife with an onion impaled. There was no greeting from the villagers, nor any sign of joy or sadness on the faces of the parents. Before they reached the site of their house, twenty yards away down the street, mats were spread for them. There they must sit and wait in the street for perhaps three hours, while the ceremony *malik sumpah* would take place – the ceremony of turning off the curse which was upon them, but in which for the time they had no part.

Immediately opposite the entrance to the house-court the feast for the villagers was going on. Many men sat cross-legged on the *balé's*, enjoying their portion of rice and succulent morsels of meat. In the roadway pits had been dug for roasting, and ducks, chickens, pigs and sausages were being given a final turn on the spit. The villagers who had witnessed the ceremonies outside the village now had their share of the feast.

The Sĕngguhu priest now took his place on a mat spread amongst the offerings on the site of the old house. Before

[1]) The Balian did not give the obvious explanation that the parents had to burn their house three times lest they might bring a curse upon the house in which they would live. If there were any chance of disaster accompanying them no villager would receive them into his house. A lontar from Tonjă states that if anything is lacking in the ceremony twins may be born three times in succession. I did not find anywhere else in Bali the custom of burning two small *kubu's* after the real one. But in general the case does not come up that the parents must be given hospitality in another house, for the village plan of Sukawană differs from the usual village made up of individual family courtyards. The usual Balinese house consists of several separate buildings, and only the *balé pĕgat* or the *mĕtèn* where the children are born must be torn down and burned ... sometimes not even that. So that the parents on their return still have other buildings to inhabit in their own housecourt, and are not obliged to seek hospitality elsewhere.

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him were arranged his holy instruments — the figure of a man seated on a lion in ancient Chinese pottery, containing holy water, a bronze lamp containing glowing coals of sandalwood, a bronze bell, a bronze "astrological beaker" with the signs of gods and zodiac in raised relief, and bearing the date 1248 (Çaka = 1326 A.D.). This beaker was filled with holy water and the chopped petals of flowers. During the ceremony the *sĕngguhu* priest several times after ringing his bell immersed it in this beaker of holy water.

The two most honored ancient men, the two Kĕbayans of the village, came and sat behind the priest (see Fig. 6). The Balian also sat near and assisted in the ritual. The Sĕngguhu began with prayers and offerings *bĕdu'ur*, "above", made facing the *sanggar tawang*, to the gods. He then returned to his place among the offerings arranged in the five directions. These included the waterbuffalo, calf, pig, goat, goose, chickens, duck and dog, and the thousand minute offerings of rice and palm which must be provided according to rule and no one of which may be omitted. The dedication seemed to follow the order of Bali-Hindu ceremonies, with *mantra's* (prayers in the old language) repeated by the priest, the ritual of fire and holy water, the ringing of the bell and the sprinkling of the offerings using two broom-like bunches of young coconut leaves, called the *lis* and the *tĕgtĕg*, or *tugtug*. To the *lis*, which they said was male, was attached a small woven "basket" of leaf called *kĕtipat pusuh*, and to the *tĕgtĕg*, female, one called *kĕtipat tulud*.

Towards the end of the ceremony the *sĕngguhu* took out from a basket the great conch shell which is traditional in the ritual of his priesthood. While he rang his bell and repeated prayers the Balian blew great blasts upon the conch, calling the *Kala's* and the *Buta's* from afar to come and receive the meat and rice and palm-wine spread there for them.

The final rite was again the breaking apart of the two cones of rice tied together with a bit of thread, just as was done in the *kubu*. The priest said the offering was called *pĕras*. But the meaning of the rite he could not explain.

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Now the priest rose, and the Balian, and the men and women of the village who had assembled to watch the proceedings. They turned to the entrance of the house-court, where, at the bottom of the stone runway leading down to the lower level of the street, stood the parents with the twins. Now at last they were to have a part in the ceremony.

I Lèwèr and Ni Jungir had on all new clothes. (This was another expense of the day for them.) There in the street they had discarded the filthy clothes worn night and day during the forty-two days of their exile, and donned fresh bright batiks and crisp shirts. Ni Jungir carried her child in a new *slèndang*, and both twins were wrapped in clean white cloth. The parents knelt in the roadway. At the Balian's direction a woman relative sprinkled the four unclean ones with holy water, three times with the *lis*, three times with the *tĕgtĕg*. They were more doused than sprinkled, so thoroughly did she wet them with the purifying *toyă*. Then the clay pot which held the water was dropped and smashed behind the parents, scattering its remaining contents upon them [1]).

But not yet were the unfortunate ones sufficiently pure to enter the house-court where they had lived. They turned away, following the priest and the Balian towards the village temple, the Balé Agung. There they squatted at the foot of the steps which lead up to the temple gate — not allowed to go further until several other ceremonies should have been performed.

The priest entered the first court of the temple, where stand the two long buildings called Balé Agung, one used for the formal sittings of the village council at dark moon, the other at full moon. On the ground of the court, before the temple gate, the offerings were set out to the North, South, East, West and Center. But this time only fowls were used in the ceremony, the bigger offerings of pig and goat

[1]) This is called *ngĕlukat* in most villages in Bali, and is usual in the purification ceremonies for twins. But in Sukawană the word *ngĕlukat* was unknown, and the priest said this was part of the *mĕrayaschitā*.

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*845 782 and calf and buffalo were not necessary. Some of the villagers came in to watch the priest at his prayers, but no one was yet allowed to enter the higher court of the temple where the shrines of the gods stand, and where the sacred *pĕrtastī's* are kept. Later on in the evening, after the full [783] order of the purification had been completed, they would be allowed to enter the courts of the gods.

The priest dedicated the offerings as before. This, he said, was the *mĕrĕyaschita* of the temple.

*845 783 It was now time for the *mĕsakapan* [1]) of the parents and the twins. This took place at the foot of the temple steps where they sat waiting. The instruments of the ceremony were the following live animals: a white duck; a chicken "with feathers going the wrong way"; a red, white and black chicken; a chicken with feathers like casuarina-tree needles; and a small pig, uncastrated [2]). These beasts are required to "eat out" the uncleanness of the parents and the twins. Each beast was to act on a separate part of the body, divided thus; the head, the two shoulders, the two hands, the body, and the two feet. The Balian, performing the rite, took each one in turn and made as if the beast ate at the skin of the person. The words used for this filth-eating were *ngĕkĕh* for the three chickens and *ngolsol* for the duck and the pig, because they have different ways of eating. The chicken scratches with its feet and pecks, the duck and pig snuffle it up!

These animals were not sacrificed, but set free before the temple, to live out their lives. No one would take them, the people said.

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[1]) *Mĕsakapan* as generally known in Bali is a wedding ceremony, and does not resemble this ceremony, which is usually called *njĕkĕhan*.

[2]) The beasts' names and the divisions of the body on which they act were as follows:

bĕbĕk putih	on the head
[825] *ayam sidamală (sudă mală)*	on the hands
[826] *ayam grungsang*	on the shoulders
ayam bulu chĕmară	on the body, up and down
kuchit butukan	on the feet.

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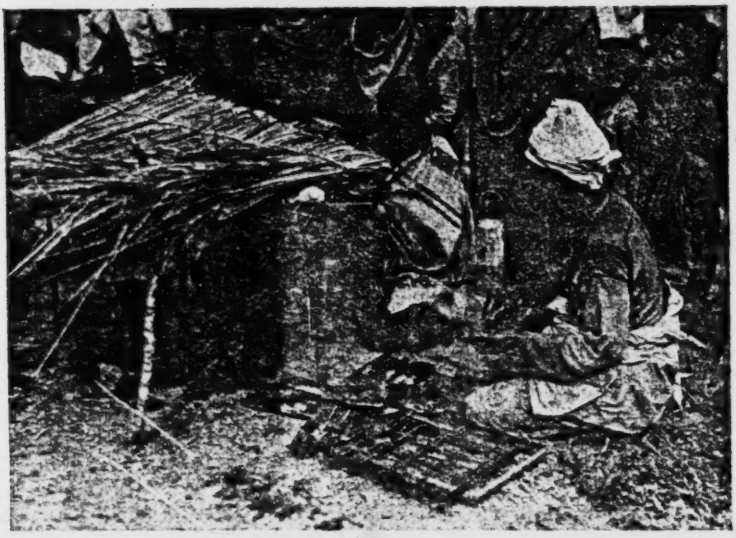

Photo Walter Spies.

5. At the small kubu. The balian dedicates the offerings „karangan manchălimă".

[415]

Photo Walter Spies.

6. Offerings to the bad spirits on the site of the house. The sĕngguhu in the foreground: behind him the balian and two kĕbayan's.

[p. 498(A)]

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Photo Walter Spies.

7. *The sengguhu rings the bell, while the balian blows the conch.*

[778]
[192]

Photo Walter Spies.

8. *Calling the bad spirits to the feast.*

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It was nearing sunset. A procession started for the Meeting of Rivers, the *champuh*, a holy place some half hour's walk distant from the village. About fifty relatives and friends of the twin family accompanied I Lèwèr and Ni Jungir. Women carried on their heads baskets containing the old clothes of the unclean ones, and all the utensils and receptacles for food which had been in their possession before the disaster and had not been consumed in the *kubu* fire. Arrived at the *champuh* all these things were cast away into the water (*anjudang*) which leads down to the sea. There were prayers and a few offerings, and then these people rushed into the icy water to cleanse themselves thoroughly of the *sĕbĕl* state. The *pusuh*, the pseudo-twin, was cast away also into the stream. On their return Ni Jungir, carrying her child, walked still armed with the knife and the onion, but I Lèwèr, having cast away his twin, had no longer any need for his weapon.

I Lèwèr and Ni Jungir and the remaining twin were at last purified. They were taken into the house of his brother, where they warmed themselves at the evening fire, and were glad that they might once again sleep in security within the walls of their village. There, with two families crowded into one tiny house, they would have to remain for some months. I Lèwèr meant to rebuild his house on the former site, which stands waiting and bare. But for the time he has no resources to buy the necessary materials — all that he had in cash and in wordly goods has gone in turning off the curse of the birth of the twins. From the labor of his hands and from the fruit of his land he will in time reestablish his homestead.

That night there was no more village activity. Each family retired to its house, where the fires were burning, the women crouching beside them frying meat left over from the offerings. The men sat upon the raised *balé's* on either side of the hearth, and the children squatted on the floor, or sat quietly in the laps of their grandfathers, listening to the talk of their elders. We were guests in the house of the *Prĕbĕkĕl*, the headman of the village by order

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of the official Dutch government. This man has himself no place in the village council. But his father, who is now an old man to whom no one pays much attention, was once *kĕbayan*, holding the highest position in his half of the village [1]). According to the village-laws a *kĕbayan* is superannuated when his youngest child is married. He becomes *sayă*, a place of honor without power, and the position of *kĕbayan* is filled by the next highest member of his half of the village council. To the house of the Prĕbĕkĕl came that evening several of the elders from the council — there were things to discuss in the order of the ceremonies to come. In three days' time would begin the *odalan* in the temple, replacing the big *usabă* ceremony which was due on that day, at full moon. The odalan [2]) would last two days, and afterwards the gods must go away. They must be carried in procession to the sea or to a holy bathing place, where they would receive their "bath of purification" (*ngĕlungayang* or *mĕlis*). For in the case of the birth of boy and girl twins even the gods are dirtied. So far it had not been decided to which place the procession would go, nor on what day. The Prĕbĕkĕl would have to inform the Punggawă, head of the district, who would report to the Dutch Controleur what was being done in Sukawană. But that night nothing was decided. When the fire began to burn low the visiting elders went away, and the people of the house rolled themselves in their blankets to sleep.

On the morning following the big *mĕrĕyaschitä*, we were surprised to find offerings for *mĕcharu* again laid out in

[1]) The villagers are divided into two groups, *tĕngĕn* (right) and *kiwă* (left), into which they are born and remain throughout their life. Each group has its *kĕbayan*.

[2]) The *odalan* is not described because it was a ceremony belonging to the ordinary calendar of festivals in the Purä Balé Agung, and had nothing to do with the ceremonies occasioned by the birth of the twins. It is curious, however, to note that the *odalan* took place between the twin ceremonies, that is after the *mĕrĕyaschita* and before the *mĕlis*. In other villages where *mĕlis* was required for the birth of twins, it was arranged to take place before the *odalan*, and the people believed that only after *mĕlis* could an *odalan* be celebrated.

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the court of the Balé Agung. The Sĕngguhu was present to officiate. The ceremony he called *manchă satah* this time, and the offerings included five chickens and a duck. He could not explain why a second *mĕcharu* or formal offerings to the bad spirits had to be made in the temple, so closely resembling the ceremony performed the previous evening. After the return of the people from the Meeting of Rivers anyone who wished was allowed to enter the upper court of the temple. Perhaps this second *mĕcharu* in the temple was to drive away any evil spirits which might have rushed in at the opening of the gates for forty-two days closed. But neither the priest nor the people gave any explanation of it — only, "that is the way it is done".

When it was over the Sĕngguhu returned to his village. His part in the ceremonies was finished. The next day nothing happened. There was visiting in the houses of the elders. Many cups of coffee were drunk in the give and take of hospitality. At the end of the day, without any formal meeting of the council, it had been decided that the gods should go on third day after the *odalan*, not to the sea, but southward over the mountains to the temple of Pausan, some thirty miles away. They would be carried in procession, riding in their pagoda-houses, accompanied by more than four hundred men, women and children. It would take a day to walk there. Two days they would remain there, making offering and sprinkling the gods with the holy water of the place. Then they would return to their village, up over the mountains, to reinstate their purified gods in the temple. That is the end of the ceremonies required for the birth of twins who are a boy and a girl.

Part II.

Variations of the Ritual and Taboos in different Districts of Bali.

As with all other customs in Bali, marked variations are found from village to village. I have visited a dozen different villages where twins have been born in the past few

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years. These villages lie in the districts of Dèn Pasar, Tabanan, Mèngwi, Gianyar, Klungkung, Bangli, Kintamani and Bulèlèng. I have read lontars prescribing the ritual and special taboos applying to each of these districts except Kintamani. The contents of those lontars which it was possible to transcribe are given in Part IV. Of course the villages of a certain district will not necessarily follow the dictates of a lontar found in that district, but are more apt to go by their own individual rulings, referring to the authority of the texts in the possession of the priests only in case of difficulty or uncertainty. On account of the autonomic system of village law, the differences are innumerable, but there are some points on which most of the villages agree. The order followed in Sukawană, described above, is as typical as any, if it be remembered that in such an old and isolated village the ceremonies are fuller, the offerings greater, and prescriptions more strictly adhered to than they are in villages more subject to influence from the outside.

Among the major differences in the custom of the various villages, is that of the time of expulsion of the twins with their parents. This is generally forty-two days, but in Trunyan (at the Batur lake) three months of thirty five days, as it is also in the rules of the Sĕngguhu nabé (teacher) of Pějatèn, near Tabanan. In an old lontar from Bulèlèng the time is stated as three *tilĕm*, or dark moons. There is also the question whether the three *galungan* (yearly festivals) following the birth may or may not be celebrated. We shall see later that the lontars do not agree on this point. In certain villages, as in Kĕtèwèl (district Ubud, near the South shore), the sacred vessels for holy water kept in the temples must be overturned (*choblong mĕlingĕb*), and the temple gates closed up with thorny branches, so that the gods will not enter there and become contaminated during the time that the village is *sĕbĕl*. According to a Padandă from Sanur, and to a lontar from Tabanan, signs (*sawèn*) of the thorny pandanus must be put up before each household entrance gate.

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It is not always customary to tear down the house or building where the twins were born. In Klunkung it is not done, neither did it happen in Tĕgĕs Kawan (Pĕliatan) nor in Kutri (Singapadu) in cases I investigated. When the house is not torn down a hut is built for the exiles out of bamboo and woven coconut fronds. The place of the *kubu*, where the twins and their parents must live for the period of their banishment, can be on the edge of the graveyard, as in Sukawană, or in the graveyard itself, as in Tĕgĕs Kawan; at the crossroads (*pĕmpatan*) as many of the lontars state, and as we found in a case of twins on the island (Nusa) of Pĕnida, in the village of Julingan; at the place where three roads meet (*talung tambi*) as at Taro; outside the village on the road to the graveyard, as in Nyĕstanan (Sayan) and Kutri (Singapadu); outside the village to the South as in Bu'ungan [1]) (Susut); or on the sea-shore, the old custom of Klungkung and of Sanur. All of these spots are of course relatively unholy ground, all graveyards and crossroads being favorite haunts of the bad spirits, whereas the sea-shore, as the „lowest" place, farthest away from the mountains and the abode of the gods, is fit for the reception of unclean people banished from the village limits. The number of watchmen (*gĕbagan*) considered necessary is a curious point of variation, for whereas in Sukawană the number reached fifty men who slept in the hut with the parents and the twins, in Taro there must be only ten or fifteen, in Klungkung, in Kĕtèwèl, in Kutri (Singapadu) five or ten villagers suffice, whereas in Tĕgĕs Kawan the *désă* does not provide any watchmen, but four or five of the relatives of the banished family join them to keep them company. In contrast, when twins were born in Nyĕstanan the entire *banjar* or village group of sixty men watched every night during the period of exile.

[1]) References to the customs of Bu'ungan and of Lumbuan are taken from the report of Idă Bagus Adiptă, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena di-dĕsa-dĕsa dalam bilangan negara Bangli*, published in the *Bhăwanăgara*, Nos. 7, 8-9, Tahoen II, 1932-33, and Nos. 2-3, 4-5, Tahoen III, 1933.

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The names applied to the purification ceremonies are various. Undoubtedly the same ceremony is called by different names in different villages, and probably a single name is often differently understood, and applied to unlike rituals.

These I have found in use:

měrĕyaschită or prayaschită	in Sukawană, Klungkung, Bangli, Gianyar, Pĕliatan;
ngĕlungah	in Taro, Bu'ungan, Kĕtèwèl, Tonjă, Tĕnganan [1]), Bangli, Gianyar, Pĕliatan, Tabanan;
mĕsakapan	in Sukawană, Tabanan, Julingan (Nusa Pĕnida), Buungan;
mĕtĕlah-tĕlah dĕsă or mĕsadi	in Taro, Lumbuan [2]), Buungan;
mĕpĕrisadi or mapri saddhi	in Ubud, Gianyar, Bangli, Pĕliatan;

mĕcharu by these names:

malik sumpah	in Sukawană, Taro, Klungkung, Nyĕstană, Sanur;
panchă walikramă	in Sanur, Tonjă;
panchă sanak	in Sanur;
panchă kĕlud	in Pĕdjatèn, Tonjă;
labuh gĕntuh	in Sanur, Pĕdjatèn;
wrĕspati kalpă	in Sanur, Tonjă;
yamărĕsi gană saptă . . .	in Tonjă;
madudus	Ubud, Gianyar, Bangli, Pĕliatan;
ngĕlukat or mĕlukat . . .	in Klungkung, Julingan (Nusa Pĕnida), Gianyar, Bangli, Pĕliatan, Ubud, Buungan, Taro;

[1]) References to the customs of Tĕnganan are taken from Dr. V. E. KORN, *De Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*, Santpoort, 1933.

[2]) Cf. p. 503 nt. 1.

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mĕkiis or mĕlis	in Taro, Bangli, Gianyar, Pĕliatan, Bu'ungan, Kutri, Tabanan, Sanur, Tonjă;	845* 184 552
ngĕlungayang (same as mĕlis)	in Sukawană;	783
ngĕlungahang (not to the river but only to the boundaries of the village)	in Lumbuan.	

These last two are to be distinguished from the *ngĕlungah* above, which, in Taro for example, is the initial ceremony to be celebrated, first in the house where the birth took place, and then in the Balé Agung temple. In Sukawană, it will be remembered, at the *ngĕlungayang* a great number of the villagers went in procession with the gods to a temple far away. At the *ngĕlungah* in the temple at Taro the villagers are not even allowed to be present, for they are still too unclean to enter the temple, and the ceremony is performed by the Padandă, who has been called from afar, and the maker of the offerings, a man also from another village, since the inhabitants of Taro itself are considered too unclean to prepare the offerings. After the *ngĕlungah* in the house and in the temple, in Taro, comes the *mĕkiis*, not to the sea but to a river, then the *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah dĕsă*, and finally the *mĕcharu* called *malik sumpah* at which a Sĕngguhu officiates. It will be noted that not only the names but the order of the ceremonies can vary, for it is certainly usual to have the *mĕcharu* first and later the *mĕkiis* or *mĕlis*.

The celebration of the ceremonies may be entrusted to a Sĕngguhu, as in Sukawană; to a Padandă alone, either Siwa or Boda, as in Klungkung, Tĕgĕs Kawan, Kutri, and Trunyan; to a Padandă functioning with a Sĕngguhu, as in Bongkasă, in Taro, and as many of the lontars dictate. Or the ceremonies may be carried out by the local priests, using holy water prepared and blessed by a Padandă. This is done in Julingan on the island of Pĕnida, and also in Tĕnganan [1]). In Lumbuan, the Pĕmangku, the temple-

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[1]) Vide p. 504, n. 1.

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*845 184 783 guardian priest officiates, and in Bu'ungan the Balian konèng, a sort of witch-doctor, but both villages use holy water prepared by a Bujanggă, probably a Sĕngguhu. In Kĕtèwèl, where the purification differs for two sorts of twins, the more serious is celebrated by a Sĕngguhu and a Padandă, the less serious by the Pĕmangku and a Padandă. It would seem that a Sĕngguhu should rightly be in charge of the *mĕcharu*, for offerings to the bad spirits are his special field, and a Padandă should dedicate the offerings to the gods. But the services of a Sĕngguhu are difficult to obtain, for these priests are rare, and although in caste they rank much lower than the Brahman Padandă, they may charge a higher fee. For this reason the Sĕngguhu is often dispensed with. The Padandă has power to make offerings to the bad spirits, just as in Sukawană the Sĕngguhu also made offerings to the gods.

*845 184 780 554 In the matter of offerings the variation of the ritual is hard to tabulate, because the extent of the array depends not only on the custom of the village where the twins are born, but upon the rank and relative wealth of the individual family. Only in the older, more strictly organized villages such as Sukawană, Truṇyan, Taro, Lumbuan and Bu'ungan does the adat dictate an elaborate set of offerings which cannot be diminished even if the family of the twins is destitute. In such villages the array must be guaranteed by the members of the village group, and that which the family is not able to provide is supplied for it, creating a debt to the village and putting the family lands in pawn until the debt can be repaid. But in the more usual, less strict villages where the feeling for the unity and common interest of the group is less intense, the extent of the offerings is allowed to depend upon the resources of the affected family, and a small *mĕcharu* for poor people is considered equivalent in effectiveness to a great *mĕcharu* offered by people able to afford it. The rule is that the ceremony is low, middle, or high, according to the „birth" of the people, whether low, middle or high (*nistă, madyă, utamă*). The reference to birth seems to cover their wordly

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wealth as well as their caste. The *mĕcharu* given for twins born in Tĕgĕs Kawan and in Kutri included, as animal offerings, only five chickens, a duck, a pig, and a dog, and the other offerings were correspondingly less than those used in Sukawană, for instance, where a buffalo, a calf, a goat, and a goose had to be offered as well as the less expensive beasts. But to say that in Tĕgĕs Kawan and in Kutri the *mĕcharu* for *manak salah* comprises only offerings of five chickens, a duck, a pig and a dog, would be incorrect, for twins might conceivably be born to a family there which considered itself sufficiently "high" to give one of the more elaborate *charu*.

In connection with this it may be noted that whereas in the old villages the members of the Balé Agung are generally required to contribute to the ceremonies, upon each man falling the burden of his share, it is more customary for the father of the twins to go begging from door to door, receiving contributions which may not amount to more than a cent per household. In many districts he begs not only in his own Balé Agung but in three, seven, ten, or eleven nearby Balé Agung's, until he has collected the necessary funds. It is said that he may not be refused, no matter how small the contribution. The origin of this custom is probably that in former times the entire *nĕgară*, the kingdom ruled by a certain Rajă, was rendered *sĕbĕl* by the birth of boy and girl twins in one of its villages (so I was told by Chokordă Anom of the ruling house of Klungkung). The lontars say such twins *ngĕlĕtĕhin jagat*, or *bumi*, or *nĕgară*. This can be translated „to make unclean the country", and originally must have meant the whole kingdom, although now it is interpreted to mean a single Balé Agung. But the custom remains of asking contributions in a number of surrounding Balé Agung's, as a leftover of their participation in the *sĕbĕl* state in former times. Today not more than a single Balé Agung is considered *sĕbĕl*, and sometimes only the *banjar* (one of the village groups which make up the Balé Agung) in which the birth of the twins occurred.

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*845 184 In nearly all the villages studied the birth of twins of like sex, two boys or two girls, is not *manak salah*, does not require banishment of the family nor special ceremonies of any kind. Exceptions are the old villages of Lumbuan, Bu'ungan, and Taro, where certain ceremonies are prescribed, and Trunyan and Kětèwèl [1]), where the twins and their parents are also banished from the village. Such twins are called *anak kĕmbar*, whether or not they are considered a bad sign.

*845 184 564 582 [787] Although according to some lontars only members of the ruling Satryă or Wésyă family, and the families of Brahman priests, escape being branded *manak salah* if they bring forth boy and girl twins, and although a Bulèlèng lontar states it to be a bad sign for people of all the four castes, in nearly all the villages of South Bali it is only considered a bad sign if Jabă [2]) (ordinary people, Sudra's) have twins who are a boy and a girl, and a good sign if Triwangsă (people of Brahman, Satryă or Wésyă caste) have such twins. They are called *anak kĕmbar bunching* [3]), which means "twins bride and bridegroom". Among ordinary people it is known that such twins may marry. Everywhere I was told this, by all sorts of people. But a Brahman scholar and holy man, Idă Putu Maron of Ubud, stated that Jabă twins may not marry each other, because they are *salah* [4]). On the other hand, it is a very good sign if high caste twins marry each other.

*845 [554] 184 582 In the present generation of the princely Chokordă family of Ubud there are such twins who did not marry each

[1]) In Kětèwèl a special reason exists. See later, page 528.

[2]) According to estimate the Jabă are 94 %, the Triwangsă 6 %, of the population of Bali. The population is supposed to be approximately a million.

[3]) VAN DER TUUK's Dictionary has *buñching* = bride and bridegroom. Note also that current high Balinese for "to marry" is *mĕkaryă pĕbunchingan*.

[4]) Although the Balinese are supposed to follow the dictates of the Hindu priests, it often happens that the common people go their own way without consulting the priest. When they are at variance with the Hindu custom as strictly held by the Triwangsă, the priest excuses them, saying paternally, "They do not know". [183]

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other, because, the boy said, if he had married his sister he would not have been allowed to take any other wives, and although he was pleased with her, he did not care to commit himself to having only one spouse throughout his life. 845* 184 582

In Batuan twins of a "small Satryă" family, whose titles are Déwă Gĕdé and Déwă Ayu, married each other and were happy for two years. Then a powerful man of higher rank (Satryă caste, Chokordă) stole away Déwă Ayu from her twin-husband. Both the young twin-husband and the father of the twins seemed distressed at this arbitrary breaking of the intended order. [586] [564]

These twins were brought up in the same house. But people often say that it is better if the children can be separated when they are small, so that they will be pleased to wed when they meet again at the marriageable age. A member of the Sĕngguhu caste (classed as Jabă, but on account of their priestly functions often considering themselves as good as Brahmans) told me that the twins should be placed as far apart as possible, for instance one in Bulèlèng and one in Badung (Dèn Pasar). He said "When twins are a boy and a girl, it is called *manak salah*, and people say that the boy brings his wife with him out of the womb, and therefore is like a god. The village in which it occurs becomes unclean, the subsequent *galungan* may not be celebrated in the village. Afterward the largest *mĕcharu* must be held to purify the village before it can take part in the *galungan* festivals. The people of the village are very angry when such twins are born. 845* 564 184 591

"But the mother and the father are very pleased. The legend (*chĕrită*) is that this boy must become king, since he has brought his wife out of the womb, like the kings of old.

"After the time of banishment and the purification, the boy and the girl are separated while they are still very small, and placed in houses as far apart as possible, as in Bulèlèng and in Badung. When they have reached the marriageable age, they are brought together and married to one another. It is hoped if the legend comes true and the boy becomes king the wife will bring him power over

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the far-away land where she was reared, and all the land between

"But it is a very rare occurrence that such twins live. Usually either the boy or the girl, or both, die at an early age, and often even the parents die". —

Unfortunately this charming version of the separation is not true all over Bali. Not one of the parents of Jabă twins whom we questioned had heard that this was "to have children like the kings of old". They knew only that it was a bad sign, and a costly one to them. Since it is impossible for a Jabă to become king, and has always been so, the explanation is one which would only occur to the imagination of a proud Sĕngguhu. Later it will be shown to what extent Sĕngguhu's consider themselves exempt from the taboos imposed on all Jabă twins.

In Nyèstanan, a village near Ubud, Jabă twins born twelve years ago were separated by the adoption of the boy into a household in the same village. A year afterward the woman who had taken the boy died suddenly. This was a bad sign. The boy was returned to his parents, for no one else would take him. Now the boy and girl, who are near puberty, state most vigorously that they do not wish to marry each other, since they were brought up as brother and sister.

J. de Vroom, writing more than sixty years ago, mentions as an old custom of forgotten times that *kĕmbar bunching* had to marry each other [1]). I did not find one person, Padandă, prince, or ordinary man, who stated that such marriage was compulsory.

Mr. de Vroom reports also that people say *kĕmbar salah* mostly die. It is curious that in seven cases I investigated one or both twins died before the period of banishment was over. In Taro boy and girl twins have been born three times in the past two years, to unrelated families. In each case the girl has died.

In connection with the frequently reported death of twins

[1]) J. DE VROOM, *Aanteekening uit eene Balische Adversaria. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Batavia, Vol. XVIII.

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one is reminded of the custom of putting to death one or both twin children, found in the great area extending from British India to New Guinea and Australia. Frazer, in *Totemism and Exogamy*, quotes from the Rev. B. Danks' article on the New Britain Group (Northern Melanesia) that in the Duke of York Island "if twins are born, and they are boy and girl, they are put to death because being of the same class (of two exogamous classes) and being of opposite sex, they were supposed to have had in the womb a closeness of connection which amounted to a violation of their marital class law". [1]) Again, Frazer tells of the tribes near King George's Sound, in South-West Australia, that "when twins were born, one of them was killed; if the children were of different sexes, they killed the boy and preserved the girl. The reasons which they gave for destroying a twin were 'that a woman has not sufficient milk for two children, and cannot carry them and seek her food'" [2]). Edgar Thurston states that "in Madras ... twins are sometimes objects of superstition, especially if they are of different sexes, and the male is born first. The occurrence of such an event is regarded as foreboding misfortune, which can only be warded off by marrying the twins to one another and leaving them to their fate in the jungle. Cases of this kind", he continues, "have however, it is said, not been heard of within recent times" [3]). W. H. R. Rivers has written of the Todas (Southern India) that "twins are called 'omumokh', and it is the custom to kill one of them, even when both are boys. If they should be girls, it is probable that both would be killed, or at any rate would have been killed in the past" [4]).

[1]) REV. B. DANKS, *Marriage customs of the New Britain Group. Journal of the Anthropological Institute* XVIII (1889), quoted by FRAZER, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. II, p. 122, London 1910.

[2]) FRAZER, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London 1910, Vol. I, p. 549, on authority of Scotthind, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* I, (1832) p. 39.

[3]) EDGAR THURSTON, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*, New York, 1912, p. 54.

[4]) W. H. R. RIVERS, *The Todas*, Cambridge. p. 480.

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Certainly the feeling that twins are an evil omen is widespread throughout this extensive area. But I found no evidence to show that the Balinese ever went so far as to kill the children, except in the case of triplets which were two boys and one girl. A Padandă from Sanur and a lontar from Kabă-Kabă (Tabanan) stated that these were to be thrown in the sea or abandoned on the shore; but my informants added that "other people", i.e. not the parents, might take them up and care for them. Probably the high mortality of twins in Bali is sufficiently explained by the undesirable removal of them the day after birth, the sojourn in an inadequate shelter during the first weeks, and perhaps the physical and mental effects on the mother of the whole anxious period before the purification.

Another point must be mentioned in connection with the early death and the separation of the twins. I was told by Chokordă Anom, keeper of the genealogy (*babad*) of the ruling family of Klungkung, that in the time of the Balinese kings all twins and triplets were taken into the Puri of the Rajă to become his slaves (*parĕkan*). The Rajă had the right to take these children, whether two boys, two girls, or whatever the assortment of the sexes. The Rajă's power over them continued throughout their lifetime. It happened in Taro in the last generation that a boy-twin was separated from his sister when they reached puberty, by order of the Anak Agung (prince) of Tĕgal-lalang, whose *parĕkan* the boy became. Later the boy was released from servitude. He returned to Taro and married his twin. He is now dead, and his widow is an old woman. This is the only case I found where a twin or triplet was taken by a prince, although De Vroom speaks of finding in lontars that boy and girl twins may be dedicated to the prince, who will have them educated [1]). And this case also is too far in the past to make sure that it was on account of his being a twin that the boy was taken into servitude. Princes in Bali still can find ways of casting their subjects into

[1]) Vide p. 510 nt. 1.

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temporary servitude, and this must have been more true before the influence of the Dutch government overspread the island. However, if it *was* the custom for twins to become slaves, that might explain both their reported high mortality and their custom of separation (regardless of whether or not they proposed to marry). For the old Rajă's of Bali ruled their kingdoms loosely, leaving each village its independent organization, themselves rarely venturing beyond their palace walls. From time to time they sent a Patih or emissary to collect tribute, or to bring back some offender against the crown to have his head chopped off. (Such is the picture suggested by the literature, the popular legends and dramatic plays representing older times.) In cases where two or more children had been born at once, it would have been easy enough to cheat the Rajă of his slaves by the adoption of the extra children into other houses, and the reported death of any child whose liability to servitude threatened. However the death of one or more of the children does not release the parents from the full obligation of banishment and the purification ceremonies prescribed by the village law. A crime against the community and a crime against the Rajă were two distinct things. In Kutri (Singapadu) boy and girl twins were born in September, 1933. Both died the day of their birth, before the *kubu* on the road to the graveyard had been finished for their reception. But the parents were banished just the same, and the full order of ceremonies took place after forty-two days.

This brings us to the question of whether the "wrongness" of boy and girl twins in Jabă families is a concept rooted in the ancient belief of the Balinese people antedating their conquest by Hindu-Javanese princes, or a concept spread among them by those conquerors. As has been seen from the notes on various peoples quoted above, the concept is characteristic not only of Southern British India, but widespread in great reaches of Oceania. It has been reported from the Philippines that the Nabaloi people, inhabiting Benguet, North Luzon, believe "if there are twins, one is the child of the *ampasit* (a malevolent spirit belonging to

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each locality, itself the child of an incestuous union of brother and sister). We do not know the child of the *ampasit*. A twin should marry a twin. If another person not a twin marries a twin, the *ampasit* will become angry and kill him" [1]). Such a belief, although not directly related to that found in Bali, is interesting in the suggestion which it offers of a perhaps similarly primitive belief existing in the primitive Bali, which might have been later overlayed by the Hindu concepts. If this were true all twins would originally have been objects of superstition. Yet most intelligent Balinese attribute the taboo directly to Hindu-Javanese influence. The lontars definitely state that "it is an affront to the king — *mamadă Rajă Dalĕm*". But much evidence points to an earlier fear of twins. Why do we find in four old-style Bali-agă villages twins of like sex considered bad, and only in one Hinduized village, where the special reason of twin ancestor gods exists to explain the unusual taboo? (Kĕtèwèl, see p. 528). Why are there bizarre elaborations of the rite in old villages? [2]) Why

[1]) MOSS, *Nabaloi Law and Ritual*. University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, Vol. XV, p. 273.

[2]) Such elaborations, for instance, as thrice burning the *kubu*, and the use of the *pusuh* as a substitute for the dead twin in Sukawană. Also, in a case of twins recently in Sĕlulung, the following rite, which was witnessed and related to me by Walter Spies: A *pusuh* was again used as substitute for one of the twins which had died, and when the crowd of villagers went down to the river not only the *pusuh* but the mother and the father and the remaining twin were cast into the stream (*anyudang*). This took place at a *champuh*, or meeting of rivers, and a dam had been constructed across the stream just below where the two rivers came together. The father, the mother holding the child, the *pusuh*, with various *cholong's*, coconuts, etc., were cast in the water above the dam, and then the dam was broken up, so that with a rush of water all were carried some little way downstream. Below this were stationed some fifteen men armed with spears, who with much shouting and excitement tried to pierce the *cholong's* and coconuts as they swept past.

Still another barbaric custom is that prescribed in Tĕnganan, when, after the parents of twins have been driven out of the village, their house is stoned by the villagers. See Dr. KORN's transcription of the *Awig-awig Désă* in *De Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan*, Santpoort 1933, p. 245.

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are the offerings in the villages greater where Hindu influence is less? Why do the clever Hindu priests find in their lontars excuses for avoiding the taboos, based on hair-splitting differences in the birth — was the boy born first or the girl, were there two placentas or one, which child 'brought the placenta', at how great an interval of time were the children born [1]) — all differences unknown to the ordinary Jabă and rarely relied upon to squeeze out of the trouble of *manak salah*? Does it not look as if the true Balinese concept is that such twins are a bad thing, and the newly arrived Hindu-Javanese rulers simply claimed their right to have such children honoured in the royal and priestly families? Rather than attempt to destroy the established popular superstition about twins, they would have at first only denied any evil pertaining to their own twins, then propounded the belief that this was their own special way to have children (especially a boy and a girl together), finally strengthening their own position by stating that the commoners affronted the Rajă when they dared to have children in his privileged way. Eventually the popular superstition about boy and girl twins would have been reinforced by the royal prescription, and the superstition about twins of like sex would tend to die out. Of course even in the primitive belief boy and girl twins must have been the more terrifying sort, on account of the obvious incestuous connotation which could not but offend against the marriage laws, whatever they were. Therefore it would be easier for this taboo to survive than that on twin brothers or twin sisters. Meanwhile the royal and priestly families were taking wives from among the commoners, producing children of Satryă and Brahman caste who yet were not sufficiently well-born to escape being 'wrong' if they or their descendants happened to have boy and girl twins. These people, we must suppose, the small nobility, appealed to the priests to clear them of the wrong. For they, on account of their caste, were brought up in

[1]) See below excerpts from the Tabanan lontar, p. 534.

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the Hindu tradition. Probably it was for their benefit that the priests evolved the complicated differences in the birth of twins, whether there were two placentas or only one, whether the boy was born first, etc., and posited that only in one special combination of conditions could the offending parents be said to 'affront the Rajă'. Even on these points the priestly authorities do not agree, so that even more leeway is afforded by their varying doctrines. Theoretically a man could go from authority to authority seeking one whose version would absolve him from his wrong. In Pĕliatan the question came up in the case of twins whether the village should follow the dictates of the Padandă Bodă, who said that three *galungan's* could not be celebrated after the birth, or the words of the Padandă Siwă, who said that the *galungan* immediately following the purification might be celebrated. In Sanur where there are twenty-one Padandă's, the scope of opinions is infinite. But the ordinary Jabă, unaccustomed as he remains to Hindu thought, rarely appeals to the priest for an excuse to escape his dilemma.

Perhaps it should be explained that all investigations which touch upon the religion of Bali are hampered and obscured by the confused background of the people, about which very little is definitely known. The only histories are genealogies kept by the various royal families, which do not agree with each other, which "have holes in them and do not join" as one Balinese put it, and whose very names for the kings cannot be identified with the kings of the tales and legends kept alive in the minds of the people. If one tries to sift out what part of a rite or custom is of Hindu or Hindu-Javanese origin, and what part Old Indonesian, one gets into difficulties — for not only is every village different from every other village in Bali, but no purely Hindu village or household exists, and probably no Bali-agă village exists which has not been at some time and in some way influenced by Hindu custom. The great body of the religion of Bali seems to be ancestor worship, combined with a certain amount of animism in

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the worship of Mountain, Lake and Sea gods – the whole overlayed with a coating of Hinduism differing in profundity. Where Hindu influence has been greater Hindu thought and terminology is more widespread, even among the "ignorant outsiders", the Jabă. In other places the old-style seems to have resisted the religious persuasion of the conquerors, to such an extent that even today the inhabitants refuse to tell the name of their gods, to let them be seen by strangers, even in some temples Hindu Padandă's are refused admittance. Yet the scholars and thinkers are chiefly Hindu priests and Hindu-caste princes, who are ready to explain every act of the people in a Hindu way – and these thinkers are the only ones of the Balinese able to give reasons. The simple man says "That is the way it is done" or "That is the way the old men tell" or "That is the way my father taught me". The great mass of the Balinese behave according to tradition, without question and without need for explanatory thought. And if one listens to the Hindu-thinking Balinese, who has always a rational-sounding answer, one has little assurance that his answer actually reflects the cause or true content of the commoner's behavior. To give an example: the *sanggah kamulan*, perhaps the chief shrine of the household temple, is found all over Bali. It has a characteristic form, with three doors. Nine out of ten simple Balinese will tell you, when asked the name of the god whose shrine it is, that they do not know any name for the god. If asked what '*sanggah kamulan*' means, they will answer that it means the 'place of the fore-father', the founder of the family. They cannot tell why it has three doors. Yet the tenth man, of Hindu caste, or trained or tinged with Hindu thought, will answer: "It is for Batară Guru", or "for Siwă", or "for Brahmă-Siwă-Wisnu, the Trimurti". If you insist, and ask why others say the shrine is for their ancestor this man will say: "Yes, that is true, for Siwă is the First Ancestor of all men, it was Siwă who made all men". And yet even a Padandă told, when a question came up of installing figures of the gods in the *sanggah kamulan*, that the figure of only one god with his

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wife, either Siwă or Wisnu, could be placed there. He said that to place Brahmă, Siwă and Wisnu, with or without their wives, behind the three doors, was impossible. I never heard a satisfactory explanation of the three doors, which appear to be such an obviously Hindu form. Yet the *sanggah kamulan* is unquestionably the shrine of the ancestor in each individual household, and has nothing to do with Siwă in the minds of the householders to whom each shrine belongs, and who give offerings there.

Besides the difficulty of receiving Hindu-thought explanations for customs probably of non-Hindu origin, one has to remember that certain Hindu rites may have been taken over into the laws of the old Bali-agă villages as magic or medecine considered efficacious against misfortune. As in Sukawană, where the worship of the gods is in the hands of the villagers and their Council of Elders as priests, a Balian exists who performs certain ceremonies outside the temples, and the Sĕngguhu is called in from another village for *mĕcharu*. In Trunyan, known to be so strong in its old organization and strict in its religion, a Padandă from Bangli, we were told, must be called for the *mĕcharu* following the birth of *kembar bunching* twins. And in Taro a Padandă must officiate with the Sĕngguhu. In Tĕnganan, according to Dr. Korn, the ceremony must be carried out with holy water from the Padandă Siwă-Bodă. The presence of these Hindu practices in non-Hindu villages does not prove that the whole twin-purification ceremony is of Hindu origin, but may be due to the magical power ascribed to Hindu ritual by the villagers, so that they believe the presence of the Hindu priest or the use of holy water prepared by him will reinforce their own ways of driving off the disasters. As will be seen, the custom of banishment, and certain more barbaric rites for multiple births than were performed in Sukawană, mentioned in some of the lontars, have much in common with the old incest ritual of some of these villages.

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Part III.
Divers Points of View, together with some Explanatory Legends.

I have said that the Balinese authorities do not agree. I shall report some of the opinions and stories expressed to me in conversation with various Balinese, priests and educated men and princes, on the subject of twins. This seems to me a good method for approaching the subject as it exists in their minds. The same people might modify or revise their beliefs after referring to the lontars — later we shall take up the information that these contain — but their original statements are more illuminating for grasping their actual living concepts.

Here is the mystical point of view, as presented by a Satryă, Chokordă Ngurah of Ubud: "The word *bunching* means the same as *ardă nari swari* (Skr. ardhanareçvari), which, applied to the gods, means the male and the female, the god and his wife in one person. As Batară Siwă has only one wife, Giri Putri, but she has many names and forms, according to the different aspects in which she is worshipped (literally: 'the different places where she is seated', *mĕlinggih*). She is called Durgă, Umă, etc. All the gods, Batară Wisnu, Batară Bramă, each has only one wife.

"And so to be born with a wife is to be born as a god, and the twin boy if he marries his twin may have only that one wife, like a god.

"Now it is written that Batară Siwă made all men. First he made Brahmă, and Brahmă made the world, and his children were the four castes, Brahman, Satryă, Wésyă and Sudră. So that all men are in sense the children and descendants of Batară Siwă, and therefore it is possible for them to be born as gods, as *kĕmbar bunching*. But it is only right for people of high caste (Triwangsă) to be born or to have children in that way, and people of Sudră caste are not allowed to have children in that way. If they do, and they can because they also are descendants of Batară Siwă, they are *salah*, and must be purified, together with the village where the disaster occurred.

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„For Triwangsă people it is a sign of prosperity if boy and girl twins are born. The ricefields will yield great plenty and the king and the country will prosper and grow rich.

„For Jabă it is a sign of disaster, pestilence, famine to the land.

„It is a better sign for Triwangsă if the boy is born before the girl. It is a better sign if the children have only one placenta instead of two. For Jabă it is a much more *salah* happening if the boy is born before the girl, and also if there is only one placenta."

(This matter of the placenta has nothing to do with physiological fact. The Balinese have no knowledge or concern over identical and non-identical twins, and they make no difference between a single placenta and two which adhere, appearing as one. The result is that cases of „two placentas" are extremely rare, for they must appear absolutely separately to be considered as two, and most Balinese will say that they have never seen such a thing, many that they did not know of its possibility. However the more erudite Balinese distinguish between a birth with one or two *ari-ari*, although they differ as to which is to be considered the more serious offense).

As a contrast to the high-flown reasoning of Chokordă Ngurah, let us see what a young Brahman, a school teacher, nephew of the Padandă Gĕdé of Bongkasă, has to say:

"The story is that boy and girl twins have had sexual contact in the womb, and the people believe this. They are ignorant, and therefore they are afraid.

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"The Rajăs of old were jealous of their own royal rights and customs. For instance, a certain day, as *Rĕditĕ Manis*, is an excellent day for people of high caste (Triwangsă) to have a cremation. But the Jabă were not allowed to use that day. And so the Jabă do not dare to use it, they are afraid, they say 'it is not a favorable day for us'. If the Rajă wears red, he forbids the Jabă to wear red. And in the same way, as male and female twins are a good sign for the Rajă, they are a very bad sign for the Jabă.

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It was forbidden by the Rajās, but as the people were under the rule of different Rajās, the customs differ. 845* 184

"If the girl is born before the boy, of twins born to a Rajā, they may not marry, for she is older. Therefore it is not *salah* for the Jabă if the girl is born before the boy. 582

"Perhaps the custom arose because once a Rajă had boy and girl twins which were lucky, and once a Jabā had such twins which were unlucky. Superstition arises when people are afraid".

This young man, so superior to the superstition of the people, still admits that Jabă are *salah* if they have male and female twins of which the boy is born first. On this point he is in agreement with Idă Putu Maron, a Brahman scholar of Ubud, who said: "It is only called *bunching* if the boy is born first. If the girl is born first it is called simply *kĕmbar*. In this case it is not a good sign for the Triwangsă, nor is it *salah* for the Jabă. But the people do not know this. They proceed with the purification of the village just as if it were *salah*.

"There was once in the ancient Pèjèng dynasty a Rajă who was a twin. He is called Dalĕm Bunching. After this, the Rajă's, to enforce their power, ordered the Jabă to be *salah* when they had twins in the way of the Rajă. This was to make the people humble." 845* 173 539

When we asked this informant about the twins' sexual connection in the womb, he said that he had never heard such a thing, but perhaps it was told the people by the Rajă's to make them ashamed, so that they would realize how *salah* they were. 845* 184

Although Idă Putu Maron applies the name *bunching* only to twins of which the boy is born first, we have seen that it is generally applied to all male and female twins. But according to the lontars of Sanur and of Tabanan *bunching* is the name when the girl is born first, whereas if the boy is first it is called *silih asih*. The old men of Taro also said *bunching* if the girl is born first, and *salit* if the boy is first. The Padandă Gĕdé of Bongkasă also calls it *silih asih* if the boy is born first, saying that it is 845* 192 184

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a better sign for Triwangsă, but no worse for Jabă than the reversed order. He says that twins with one placenta are worse for the Jabă, because that is their way, and with two placentas are better for Rajă's, for that is their way. I was also told by the father of Kĕtut Wijanagară, the administrator of the Liefrink-Van der Tuuk-Library, that in the old days in Bulèlèng the case of one placenta was considered more *salah*, but if the girl was born first it was not *salah* at all.

I have encountered still more divergent meanings for the word *bunching*, as for instance when the Sĕngguhu priest of Lukluk told me that he called boy and girl twins *bunching* if they had two placentas, and *silih asih* if they had only one, regardless of the order of their birth. He added that he had never heard of a case with two placentas. And recently in Bandă, a village near Blahbatu, where triplets were born, the Prĕbĕkĕl (government headman) called triplets in which the sexes were mixed *bunching*, whereas if there were three boys or three girls they would be called *kĕmbar*. In this particular case there were two boys and a girl, which generally is considered a very bad sign, as the people say two men may not share a wife, and the family must be banished, the village purified. The custom in Bandă we cannot consider very orthodox, for although they planned to have the *mĕcharu malik sumpah*, they did not banish the family for the reason that the triplets died within a day of their birth. The death of the offending children does not, in stricter villages, absolve the parents from banishment. We may consider this application of the name *bunching* a case of ignorance. The old name is *katijuru*, perhaps deriving from *juru katrini*, i.e. 'the three officials', a term occurring among the names of officials in older language. There are other fanciful names applied to triplets, as *tunjung apit tĕlagă*, 'a waterlily on either side of the pond', given when there are two girls and a boy, for it is a good sign when the boy is born with two wives (Batuan). If there are two boys and a girl, they are called *bută*, demons, because they must

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fight over the girl. I have also heard two boys and a girl called *panchoran apit bulakan*, two girls and a boy *bulakan apit panchoran*. These are two sorts of springs, the *panchoran* water coming from above and flowing out of a spout, the *bulakan* water bubbling up from beneath in a hollow rock — obvious male and female symbols.

The people are vague about the significance of triplets, as these are of course rarer in occurrence than twins. In a case of one boy and two girls born about seven years ago in Bongkasă, the people did not know what to do. Although at that time the Prĕbĕkĕl (government headman) of the village was the son of the Padandă, the Padandă apparently could not advise him, so he reported the case to the Punggawă, the head of the district. The Punggawă again reported to the Dutch Controleur, but, as the Prĕbĕkĕl told me , "they did not order anything to be done, so the village did nothing". This exemplifies how much the people still hold in their minds that unusual births are a crime against the Rajă — although they know that the power of the Rajă's is long past, they suppose that the Dutch government will also consider it an affront if anyone has twins or triplets!

Another such case was when five or six years ago boy and girl twins were born in Kabă-Kabă (near Tabanan). The parents happened to be Sĕngguhu people, who, because of their priestly caste (although not of the three higher Hindu castes) considered that they had the right to have such twins and not be *salah*. The village, however, dit not agree, and insisted that the parents provide the ceremony for the purification of the 'country'. As the Sĕngguhu family insisted on their rights, the village brought a formal action against them. The decision was referred from one high official to another until finally it was brought to the Governor General. Meanwhile a year had passed. The villagers took the matter into their own hands, and banished the family from the village for life. The exiled ones moved to Tabanan, where they had relatives who took them in, "for they had known of people with twins who had left out the ceremony".

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In the effort to trace the historical or legendary figure of Dalĕm Bunching, the original king who was a twin and to whom the people attribute the origin of the twin customs, I was told the story of Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli. The story comes in part from the Usana Bali. It was long ago, in the time when the great mountain Gunung Agung had just been made. A fierce and terrible Dĕtya, Mayă Danawă, was in power over the land. He was jealous of the gods, and did not allow the people to give them offerings. The gods banded together to fight the demon Mayă Danawă, and a war ensued in which many people were killed. Finally Batară Indră was able to overpower Mayă Danawă, but in killing him his plan was to make him alive again, dividing him into a male and a female part, to become the first Rajă of Bali. The spirit of the demon was placed in a coconut flower, and on the slopes of the Gunung Agung the gods came down and blessed it, and out of the coconut flower they made to come two children, a boy and a girl, who were called Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli. Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli became the first Rajă's of Pèjèng, and all the people who had not been killed in the great war became their subjects.

Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli, the boy and the girl, had children, who were again a boy and a girl, and were also called Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli. These twins married and again had twins, and so it went until there had been seven generations of Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli. Now each time the Rajă married his sister, and he might not have any other women. But the seventh Mĕsula-Mĕsuli was a handsome young man, and his sister was black and ugly, and he did not care for her. He sat watching a *gambuh* play, and when a beautiful young dancer appeared he fell in love with her. So strong was his desire that, going against tradition, he married her instead of his sister. And after that there were no more Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli, no more twins were born to the royal family [1]).

[1]) Although I was told by various people of the repeated generations of Mĕsula-Mĕsuli, they are not always mentioned. C. C. Berg, in *De Middeljavaansche historische traditie* (Santpoort 1927) gives the story simply: "There was a coconut tree near Batu Madĕg, two children came

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The child of the last Mĕsulă was a son, Bédahulu, who got the head of a pig (*bedă*, different, (*h*)*ulu*, head). 845* 773

The story goes that this son was very strong in magic power. So strong was he that he was able to take a kris and cut off his own head, and then place it back upon his shoulders again. Often in the palace he would tell his servant to cut off his head, and then replace it. But one day he was playing beside the river, and when he ordered the servant to cut off his head, the servant did so, and the head fell into the stream and was swiftly carried away by the current. The servant, in despair, saw a pig nearby, so he cut off its head and placed it upon the shoulders of the Prince. That is why he was called Bédahulu.

When he became Rajă his palace was moved from Pèjèng to Bĕdulu (called after him). He used to sit on high in the *balé tĕgĕh*, and the people were not allowed to look up at him. When they ate the long limp ferns they might not lift up their heads and drop them into their open mouths. If they disobeyed they were instantly killed, by a weapon hurled down from on high by the Rajă. But a little child looked up and went unnoticed, and so the news spread among the people that their Rajă had the head of a pig.

According to tradition this Bédahulu was the king who was defeated by Gajă Madă, the emissary of the royal family in Java to which the present rulers of Klungkung trace their ancestry. I have quoted his story because it makes the only link between the legendary Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli and any line of Balinese Rajă's which extends to the present day. But how slender is the historical significance of this 845* 773

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out of this tree, a male and a female. They were called Masula and Masuli, and married each other. He was made king of Bali by Mpu Kuturan." In the Kidung Pamañcangah (folio 1b-2a) the story is: "A man of great *sakti* (supernatural power), of demonic character, a danawă, was killed by Puruhuta (Indra) with his *bajra*. He had to stay a long time in the *ayatana* (space between heaven and hell) after which he was to be reincarnated. He was born in Tatakalapa (in Mĕdang) and taken as a child by a hermit of the To-Langkir (Gunung Agung). Afterwards he was appointed king of Bali and named Masula-Masuli. He married his younger sister." [775]

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* 845 173 link may be judged from the legend of that ancestry, as related to me by Chokordă Anom, the keeper of the genealogies of the royal house of Klungkung. He said that in the beginning was a Brahman Pandită, who as a result of many penitences bega. from a stone a son, called Sri Krĕsnă Kapakisan. This son married a Wijadari, a heavenly [006] nymph. Although he himself was a Brahman, because he had not married a Brahman his four children by the nymph were Satryă's. It was his patih, Gajă Madă, who defeated Bédahulu and so put an end to that dynasty. The four children became rulers in Pasuruan, Blangbangan, Sumbawa (the queen), and Bali, the youngest, Dalĕm Kĕtut, coming to Bali after its conquest to set up his palace in Samplangan. His son moved the palace to Gèlgèl, and after five generations the Rajă moved to Klungkung, where the line has ruled up to the present time. The story of Sri Krĕsnă Kapakisan is supposed to refer to the conquest of Bali by the Majapahit forces.

Just how intimately the descendants from this miraculous past take their legendary tradition is shown by the affirmation of Chokordă Anom that all the Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli's, the seven generations of them, were born with two placentas. Such a birth, then, is the way of the Rajă. It is curious that the tradition of the twin king should have been kept alive by this Klungkung dynasty, which claims, that its ancestors defeated and put an end to the Pèjèng and Bĕdulu dynasty to which the legendary Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli belong. If it had been a king of the Klungkung or Gèlgèl dynasty who was a twin, one could better understand their insistence that for common people to have twins was an affront to the Rajă. Chokordă Anom stated that there had never been a twin in those dynasties. But the Padandă of Intaran (Sanur) had a story to tell of twins in the Gèlgèl dynasty. There were three generations of boy and girl twins, he said, each of which grew up to marry each other. The twin of the third generation was the king Dalĕm Sĕganing. In those days the kings were so holy that they did not die, but when they grew old and their

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life was over, one day their bodies disappeared (*moksah* or *musnă*). They went straight to heaven. But Dalĕm Sĕganing was not satisfied with the one wife who was his sister, and he took many women. And so when his time came he died and his body remained. It was necessary to cremate him, and a *nagabandhă* (a great serpent which precedes the cremation tower of high nobles) was used for the first time to lead his soul to heaven. And *nagabandhă's* have been used ever since.

Sĕganing, or Sagĕning, as a king of Gèlgèl, is another traditional character, many times mentioned in the Kidung Pamañcangah, but there is nothing about his being a twin. The story is a legend which has become attached to his name. It shows several points of similarity with the Mĕsulă-Mĕsuli story, the repeated generations of boy and girl twins, who were allowed only to marry each other, and the arresting of the divine cycle to twins if the king wed any other than his sister. Although I did not find this particular point in any other legend, stories of the supernatural birth of a boy and a girl who become the ancestors of a tribe or family, are not rare in Bali. Here is one from Kĕtèwèl, as told by the Prĕbĕkĕl of his own ancestry.

When Kĕtèwèl was still a jungle a *dukuh*, a very holy man, dwelt there. He built a *sanggah* (household shrine) of bamboo.

The Rajă Dalĕm Gèlgèl came to the forest to hunt. He was accompanied by his priest and many of his subjects. But they saw neither birds nor beasts. They came to I Dukuh and asked why they saw no prey. I Dukuh answered, "If the Rajă wishes to see birds and beasts in plenty, he must worship at my *sanggah*".

The Rajă was very angry at this impertinence. He returned to his palace. But the following day he sent two hundred men with the order to put I Dukuh to death. They came in canoes along the shore. But as their canoes touched land at Kĕtèwèl, a heavy rain came down, and the two hundred men fell ill upon the beach, and died.

When this news had reached the Rajă, he believed I Dukuh to be indeed a very holy man. And the next day

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*845 he sent his High Priest with only six men, to ask for the soul (*jiwa*) of I Dukuh. The Rajă wished to get this powerful soul for himself.

The High Priest came to I Dukuh in the forest and told him the king's desire. I Dukuh agreed. He said: "First I must purify myself, and then you may do as you like with me". He bathed himself, and washed his hair, and when it was done the followers of the Priest killed him. The Priest ordered his body to be buried, but when the men wanted to bury him, they found the body had disappeared (*musna*).

A child of I Dukuh heard voices speaking in the forest. He looked about, but there was no one there. Then he heard that the voices issued from a *kětèwèl* tree. He took an axe and cut open the tree, and out came two children, a boy and a girl. It was the spirit of I Dukuh which had been reborn (*numitis*) in these children.

The children were called Iri Suchi and Mas Suchi. They grew up and married each other, and their descendants are the family of the Prěběkěl, which has lived there ever since, in the place called Kětèwèl after the tree from which the children were born.

*845 There exist in Kětèwèl twin gods, Déwă Kěmbar, in the form of sacred bronze figures kept with a number of others in the Pură Jogan Agung. They are two males, called Mas Mětěkèl and Mas Murug (see illustration). Such figures are believed by the archeologists to represent dead kings whose memory was perpetuated by the making of their likeness to be worshipped as gods. I found no legend relating to these Déwă Kěmbar, but an unusual reversal of the customs regarding twins is due to them. In Kětèwèl, because of the twin gods which are two males, the birth of twins of like sex, either two boys or two girls, is considered more *salah* than the birth of a boy and a girl. Twins of like sex are banished for forty-two days to the graveyard, and ten people must watch them, whereas *bunching* twins are placed before the Poeră désă, and only four *gěbagans* are thought necessary. When the time comes for the ceremony of puri-

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Photo Arch. Service.

9. *The twin gods of Kĕtèwèl, Mas Mĕtĕkèl and Mas Murug.*

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fication, a larger *mĕcharu* is given for *anak kĕmbar*, with a dog, a pig, a duck and five chickens as offerings, and a Sĕngguhu officiates with the Padandă. For *anak bunching* only five chickens are offered, and the Pĕmangku assists the Padandă. In neither case do they have the *mĕlis*.

Likewise the caste distinctions are more strict in Kĕtèwèl, for only Brahmans and Rajă Satrya's have the right to have twins, either *kĕmbar* or *bunching*, and all the smaller nobility together with the Jabă are *salah*. The people know, of course, that their taboo on *anak kĕmbar* differs from the custom of the surrounding villages. They say it is because in Kĕtèwèl they have gods which are twins and the others have not. The idea that the figures are representations of ancient kings is unknown to them. But every village may have its own gods in its temples, which are worshipped by the people of that village, and the people of other villages have nothing to do with them.

Part IV
What the Lontars say.

One of the Balinese lontars, called Bhagawan Garga, has in part to do with twins. A copy of this lontar was in the possession of a Padandă Siwă in Bangli, another in Gianyar, and a third belonged to the Padandă Bodă of Pĕliatan. All three priests referred to this lontar when questioned about *manak salah* or *kĕmbar bunching*. The story of the one from Bangli may roughly be summarized as follows:

This is the story of people with boy and girl twins.

The Rajă of Bali goes to meet the holy man, Idă Bagawan Lindu Tawang, in Lĕmah Rĕkă (Lĕmah Tulis). The holy man receives him at his meditation place. The Rajă takes a humble place on the lower level (*pemarĕkan*), but when he has introduced himself as a pupil of Bagawan Sunyă Murti Bali, the holy man welcomes him and leads him inside the palace. Because the Prince has followed the teachings of Bagawan Sunyă Murti Bali, the holy man gives him his daughter in marriage.

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Sang Mpu Pradah (the holy man) becomes Teacher-Priest in Maospait.

Now Idă Mpu Kuturan had a son, called Idă Sang Bujanggă Bali, who in turn has a son already three months old, in appearance like a perfect jewel, his body perfect, he has no flaws. Mpu Kuturan gives him the name of Idă Batară Guru. Because he is the son of Idă Sang Bujanggă Bali, he must become the teacher of the Rajă's of Bali. When Idă Mpu Sunyă Murti (Mpu Kuturan?) had explained how he became superlatively *tri murti*, pure, he died and went back to the home of the gods.

It is said Batară Bagawan Indră Chakru (the child above called Idă Batară Guru?) taught the Prince of Bali. When the pupil had learned what the teachings were, Bagawan Chakru died. The Rajă addressed his people thus: If there are people in the country of Bali who affront the Rajă by having twins *bunching*, the country of the Rajă becomes unclean; if twins *bunching* are born in the land of Bali, within the limits of the village, every house of man, every man is unclean in the unclean village. If it happens, they are banished by the people of the desa, far from the village. They must be placed at the crossroads where it is lonely, they may not come near the village. Up to the time of the ceremony, the country of the Rajă is threatened, the meditations of the Rajă are disturbed, rice is dear, plantings do not prosper, water is scarce, there is famine in the country of the Rajă. After forty-two days' time, these people must have the purification — *prayaschita, tĕbusan, amancha panggungan, linukatan (ngĕlukat); ngĕlungah* at dark moon, *mĕkiis* at full moon, in the presence of *Bujanggă* and *Siwă* (interpreted Sĕngguhu and Padandă Siwă), each of these must officiate, so that the microcosmos and the macrocosmos may be purified. Moreover the galungan festival may not take place for three times, if it is not three times stopped, calamity to the Two Worlds, many beasts fall dead, all the plantings fail, the meditations of the Rajă are burned up. If the right way is strictly followed the Two Worlds become prosperous, the beasts and plantings healthy. If a Rajă or a *Bujanggă* or a *Brahmană* has twins *bunching*, the country prospers and there are no disasters.

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After this, the king died. He who became king was one of boy

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and girl twins. He prayed and prayed, he studied and meditated to become holy, he prayed at the Gunung Agung, day and night he fasted and did not drink nor sleep, for he was in real ascesis. He concentrated in the *lumbung* (sanggar) on the Gunung Agung (Bĕsakih) on the day of full moon in the tenth month, together with the Bujanggă and Siwă (Pedanda's Bodă and Siwă), as witnesses. This was the behavior of the Rajă, meditation on the *lumbung*, in order that the rule of the Rajă's of Bali should be strong and long-lasting.

It will be seen that this "story" is far from clear, and Balinese scholars themselves do not seem to understand it. The various names given to the characters cannot be definitely identified with those to whom they refer. And other obscurities of language are interpreted according to the prejudice of the reader. For instance, in the passage "if there are people in the country of Bali who affront the Rajă by having twins *bunching*" the word *wong*, meaning simply people, is taken by the authority from Bangli to mean "people of Sudră or Wésyă caste". Another would interpret it to mean only Sudră's, another all people except the Rajă himself and his priests, as stated later on in the passage. But this again is not clear, for the phrase *Sang Bujanggă Brahmană* is extremely obscure and open to many interpretations. *Bujanggă* is a title claimed not only by Siwă and Bodă Padandă's but by Sĕngguhu's as well. Sĕngguhu's would here claim that the word Bujanggă refers to them, and the word Brahmană does not modify it, that is, giving immunity from *manak salah* to Sĕngguhu's *and* to Brahmans. When referring to the celebration of the ceremonies, the phrase *Bujanggă Siwă* was interpreted Sĕngguhu and Padandă Siwă — when referring to the meditations of the Rajă, Sang Bujanggă Siwă was interpreted Padandă Bodă and Padandă Siwă. I merely call attention to these discrepancies so that the reader may take them into account. It will be noted that the name of the king who was a twin is not disclosed.

The lontar Bhagawān Garga has a further passage on twins:

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*845 Bhagawān Garga has a further passage on Twins: The lontar
783 It is the way for people with wrong children (*manak salah*),
539 male and female born, to be banished by the people of the village, to be sent out from the house, to be placed at the graveyard, for a month and seven days they remain at the graveyard and may not return home to sleep. After the time is up they may come back to the village, and have the ceremonies *amalukat, maprisaddi, madudus déning chatur kumbă* = purifying (bathing) with water from the four Vessels, at the big crossroads (here the offerings are enumerated)... the ceremony *padudusan* (bathing) to be accompanied with *mantră's* (prayers) of the complete *prayaschită* i.e. *Sayam Brahmă, Ganastawă, Bhuwanéçwari, Nadayă, Astupungku.*

They must make the *Sanggar Tawang* (bamboo shrine for the
[782] gods). (The offerings are enumerated, both to be put up in this
[776] shrine for the uranic gods (*suchi*) and to be set out on the ground for the chthonic gods (*charu*)). Those who officiate are *Sang Siwă* (Padandă Siwă) and *Sogată* (Padandă Bodă), offerings *daksină* and *pras.* As soon as the people are purified (*adudus*), the house in the graveyard is burned, is sprinkled with holy water, using the necessary offerings *prayaschită* and *sësayut.* When this is done, the uncleanness of the people with twins is erased. Then they may go back to their house. This is required by divine law.

(More about the offerings) ... and the possessions of the people with twins may not be taken and used for ceremonies nor for *charu* before they have been purified (*malukat*). After they have been purified the festivals may go on in all the temples. And the people of the village are forced to contribute according to their means (*nistă, madyă, utamă*, poor, middle, rich). The people who have twins must beg for contributions in ten *Balé Agung's* before the ceremony *malukat*, but they may not sleep in the villages.

*845 Here we find in two different passages of a single lontar
189 sets of rules which do not correspond. The first text which
114 the Rajă expounds to his people, banishes the twin-family to the crossroads, the second text names the graveyard. In the second no mention is made of *ngëlungah*, nor of *mëkiis.* Although we found *mëkiis* (carrying the gods to the sea or to the river) or *mëlis* customary in most villages after

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the birth of twins, we were told in Klungkung and in Kětèwèl that it was not done there. It will be noted that in the Bhagawan Garga lontar, the Rajă tells his people that three galungan's may not be celebrated after the birth, although the later section does not speak of it. Another lontar, from Tabanan (Kabă-Kabă) specifically denies the restriction. And as I have told, the Padandă Bodă from Pĕliatan recommended this measure in a case of twins there, but his advice was not followed, and I have never happened to find a case where the stopping of three galungan festivals did occur.

Rarely one finds the time of banishment for the family of twins extended to three months. In the old village of Trunyan, for instance, twins of unlike sex are placed at the *trugtug*, where the dead are not buried but only exposed, for three months (*sasih*), whereas twins of like sex are only banished to a hut in the fields outside the village limits, for forty-two days. J. de Vroom apparently was told that *manak salah* entails banishment to the graveyard for three months of thirty-five days [1]). And the Sĕngguhu Rĕsi Nabé from Pĕdjatèn (near Tabanan), who is a most famous priest and teacher of Sĕngguhu's, and whose pupils practice all over South, North, and West Bali, also said *bunching* twins were to be banished for three *sasih* months of thirty-five days. We found in the following fragment of a lontar from Bulèlèng, *Sima déça Bulèlèng*, the time stated as three *tilĕm*, or dark moons, which is of course not the same thing as three *sasih*.

If a full member of the society of the Balé Agung, or a person living in the desa Bulèlèng, begets *anak salah* even though they are Brahman, Wésyă, Satryă, or 'people of the fields', it makes the country dirty, the entire village. They must be banished (temporarily) by the villagers, and placed at the *talugtug* (junction of three roads) of the graveyard, and the house of the 'wrong ones' must be brought there, for three dark moons. As soon as three dark moons have passed, the wrong ones must purify the

[1]) J. de Vroom, *Aanteekening uit eene Balische Adversaria. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* Vol. XVIII.

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village as above, *anapuhin prayangané tiga çakti* (purify the Pură Balé Agung, Pură Dalĕm, Pură Puseh); and they must *mĕkilis*, and give a feast to the villagers, including a performance of the gamĕlan gong. Before the country, the entire village, has been purified, and the offerings made to the gods *katiga çakti* (of the three temples), they may not worship the gods. The offerings are dedicated by the Sĕngguhu. If this is done, all is well with the country, if it is not done, the gods may not be worshipped, the ceremony *angrasakin* (for the agricultural gods) is forbidden, making the rice-goddess *Nini* in the fields is forbidden, that is called the country impure (*sampĕt*), all the ceremonies must not be. If this ruling is disobeyed, the fine is 22,500 (kèpèngs).

It may be noted that the Bhagawan Gargă lontar specified *ngĕlungah* at dark moon. If this took place on the [119] dark moon following the forty-two days of exile, it might very well fall on the third dark moon after the birth. The following lontar from Tabanan also places *ngĕlungah* at dark moon. It has much to say about the names and varieties of twin-births:

If twins are born with one *ari-ari* (placenta) it is called *tunggal* (one, single); if they are male and female, and the female has no *ari-ari*, the name is *tunggal* male. If the male has no *ari-ari*, the name is *tunggal* female. If there is only one *ari-ari* it is not necessary to banish the people, for it does not make impure. But they should have a ceremony . . . (here the offerings are enumerated, specifying what the father of the twins must give, and that the villagers must help to contribute what the father cannot supply). He should have the ceremony, because it is called *kĕnchĕlan ing dèwa* (a dirtying of the gods). This is the way of the ceremony.

And if both have an *ari-ari*, but one is born *mahĕlatan* (later, separated by a space of time from the first child), it is also called *tunggal*, everything thereafter is *tunggal*, the offerings *tunggal* . . . The people should bathe in *yèh suddhămală*, *yèh mangĕning* (water from sacred springs).

The rules for *manak salah* follow, giving the offerings required for the purification (*sasakapan*) at (1.) the *kubu*,

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the hut of banished family, (2.) the *kamulan*, the household shrine at their original house, (3.) the *pĕmpatan*, the cross-road(s), (4.) the *pĕkĕn*, the market place, (5.) the *blulangan yĕh*, an island or piece of land with water running on either side of it, (6.) the *Balé Agung* temple, and (7.) the *balé pĕgat*, the building where the birth of the children took place. The ceremonies are performed by a Padandă (*brāhmana*) and a Sĕngguhu (*yajamāna*), in order to rid the country of the evil (*pāpa*). If these rules are not obeyed, disasters and epidemics increase.

And if triplets *(katijuru)* are born, they must be banished to the sea-shore. If there are two boys, famine and illness to the country. Other people (not the parents) should take them up and have the ceremony for them. They should be taken up and a ceremony performed at the Balé Agung.

If there are two girls and one boy, it is not necessary to banish them, for it is said to make the country fertile.

This is the way of the désă Kabă-Kabă.

This is the law, if there are two children born in one day, and the girl is born first and the boy after, it is called born *bunching*. Because the *bunching* birth is an affront to the Rajă, the country is dirtied, they must be banished and placed at the big crossroad(s) for 42 days. The people of the village must put up *sawèns*, signs of pandanus, before every courtyard gate. When the time is up, the people who have made the village unclean must have the ceremonies *masakapan amanchă panggung, ngĕlungah* at dark moon, and after *ngĕlungah* the people of the village must *mĕkiis* to the sea at full moon.

The people who have made the village unclean must surrender all their utensils for the ceremony to the head of the village, money 10,100, rice 200 measures, and the other offerings for the gods (*widhi-widhāna*), and fire-wood, arèn-leaves, cocanut leaves, bananas, laths.

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There follow instructions about the offerings. The father is to go begging for three days, asking contributions. But it does not say to beg in a number of other Balé Agung's,

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*845 as I found costumary in many other places — in Taro, 184 eleven Balé Agung's, in Tĕgĕs Kawan (Pĕliatan) the same 783 number, in Sanur seven, in Kutri (Singapadu) three, in Bongkasă, Ubud, and according to the Bhagawan Garga, ten. Then come directions for *mĕkiis* to the sea, and the statement that after the village is entirely purified, *galungan* may be celebrated for three times. This seems to be a denial of the rule found elsewhere that the *galungan* festival is to be three times held up.

Next we have another sort of twins:

And if two children are born in one day, and the boy is born first and the girl afterward, it is called *salilyasih* (*silih asih*, exchange of love). This does not dirty the country, it "washes" the [539] queen, it blesses the country below and above.

And if anyone has twins (*manak salah*) which dirty the country, they must be banished by the villagers and placed at the big crossroads for 42 days. All the people of the village must put signs of pandanus before all the courtyard doors. When the time is up, they must have *matatĕbasan* at dark moon, *amancha panggung* called *manglungah*, offerings and full honor to the gods as before, let none be lacking.

*845 Then are given the offerings for *pracharu* for *manak salah*, to be set out at the Balé Agung, the crossroads, the marketplace, the spring or bathing place, the balé where the birth took place, and the household shrine. Once more the instructions for *atatĕbasan* at the Pură Désă, then *mĕkiis* to the sea at full moon. It is specified that the village must make the *charu* according to custom, building the *sanggah tutuan*, and [783] all the villagers must be purified with the *lis*, and give honor to all the gods.

An explanatory sentence, referring to a section above, says that a birth is called *hĕlatĕn* when one, two, or three *da'uh* (period of an hour and a half) intervene between the appearance of the two children, even though both come in the same night. This was called *hĕlatĕn* in olden times.

Lastly, the births called *bunching* and *silih asih* are of

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triwangsă people (high caste, Brahman, Satryĕ, or Wĕsyă), and according to the prince in the palace at Tabanan, all those who are not of high caste are *salah*.

That is the end of this unusually full lontar regarding twins. Recently a case of twins born to Chinese people living in Bulĕlèng occasioned discussion of the various customs in the Balinese magazine Bhawanagara [1]). One author recommends the *adat* from Kabă-Kabă, Tabanan, as a good one to be followed, and quotes from a lontar originating there. The quotations are in modern Balinese, but must be taken either from the same lontar which I have summarized, or from a transcription of it, for it agrees on all points with the other text. Although not so full in directions for the ceremonies, the various differences in the births, with their special names, correspond — for one placenta, for a difference in time between the births, for the birth of the boy first, or the girl, for triplets of which two are boys, and triplets of which two are girls, and the same distinction between ordinary people and those of high caste birth. The lontar is very generous in the exemptions from *manak salah* which it allows. Firstly, all high caste people seem to be exempt, not only the king and the high priests as we found before. Then any birth which can be called "single", either because there is only one placenta, or because the children are born with an intervening time period, does not seem to require banishment. And of boy and girl twins, if the boy is born first, it is a good sign — although the last paragraph suggests that this does not hold good for Sudrā's.

A Brahman scholar of Sanur made the following report after consulting the lontars of his Padandă:

If in Bali Sudră people have twins *manak salah*, it is called *bunching* when the girl is first and the boy comes after. This is said to threaten the safety of the country, and so the children

[1]) *Bhawanagara*, Taboen III, No. 8 (1934). *Pertanja'an tentang adat*, p. 126 and *Indik Manak Salah*, p. 127.

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and the mother and father must be moved to a hut at the cross-roads or on the seashore, until the children are 42 days old, in Balinese called *nyĕpi* (this term is usually applied to the yearly purification of the village, after a *mĕcharu*, when the people retire to their houses and leave the streets "lonely", so that the bad spirits will depart). And the villagers of a single Balé Agung put up signs of pandanus before the middle of the door of each courtyard, and it is called *sĕbĕl*, unclean, within that village.

Before the arrival of a favorable day (*dĕwasă*) for *nyĕpi* the father of the twins must beg alms of the people of seven different Balé Agung's, asking contributions for the ceremony to purify the country, and the people of a single Balé Agung (his own) must help him. The father must provide money to the amount of 10,100 kèpèngs, rice, coconuts, eggs, and so on.

As soon as the children are 42 days old, the people of the single Balé Agung must make the offerings *charu* and *mĕkiis* to the sea. The names of the offerings and the *charu* depend upon the estimate of the Padandă and the desire of the villagers, for example, *manchă walikramă*, *malik sumpah*, *manchă sanak*. The *charu* is celebrated by a Padandă Siwă and a Padandă Bodă, assisted by a Sĕngguhu.

As soon as the offerings are completed, the children are purified (*kĕjayă*) at the Balé Agung, at the temples, at the market-place, the river, and the sea, and only after this may the children be taken home to their house.

Likewise if people have twins *manak salah*, but the birth happens differently, so that the boy is born first and the girl afterward, that is called *silih asih*. In this case, according to the explanation of the lontar, no uncleanness results, but an obscure statement suggests that it brings evils and misfortune just as *bunching* described above.

The explanation of the lontars further states that when people have a boy and a girl born at the same time, but with only one placenta, one of the children is "wrong", *salah*, and it is not called *bunching* nor *silih asih*. Thus:

1. If the girl brings the placenta and the boy does not, that is called *kĕmbar tunggal* (twins single), which means that it is as if both were girls.
2. If the boy brings the placenta and the girl does not, that also is called *kĕmbar tunggal*, as if both were boys.

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Neither of these sorts of twins threatens the country. But the lontar says it is just as well to have the ceremony or the *charu*.

And if anyone has three children born at once, of which two are boys and one a girl, that is called *katiruju* (*kati-juru* in the Tabanan lontar), and is extremely dangerous to the country, and these children must be set down on the sea-shore. According to custom two of the children are cast away, and then picked up by another person, not their mother. In this case there must be the ceremony *mĕdudus* at the Balé Agung.

And if anyone brings forth one boy and two girls, they do not become *sĕbĕl* and their house is not moved, because in this case, it is said, the country begins to be prosperous and healthy, and diseases will not spread.

This set of rules makes apparent gradations in the wrongness of *manak salah*, so that the only really evil birth seems to be when to low-caste people a girl is born before a boy and there are two placentas — except of course in the case of the very rare unlucky triplets. And the matter of the placentas is not based on physiological fact, for if the two adhere they are considered as one. The obscurities in the texts allow room for interpretation in favor of those concerned. In a case of boy and girl twins born to Jabă people in Sanur last year, the family was not banished, no *mĕcharu* was held, and the villagers did not consider themselves *sĕbĕl*, but continued to go to the temples only because the boy had been born first. The Padandă of Intaran, and the Brahman Balian, who normally should have officiated, did not approve of their omitting the ceremonies, and said that at the latest the people must have a *mĕcharu* during the ninth month (four months after the birth).

A report has been made in the magazine *Bhawanagara* covering the ancient adat of two Bali Agă villages in the district of Bangli, Bu'ungan [1]) and Lumbuan [2]). The an-

[1]) Idă Bagus Adiptă, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena didésa-desa dalem bilangan negara Bangli. Bhawanagara*, Tahoen III, No. 4-5, 1933.

[2]) Idă Bagus Adiptă, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena didésa-désa dalem bilangan negara Bangli. Bhawanagara* Tahoen II, No. 8-9, 1933.

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*845 184 173 cestors of the inhabitants of these villages lived in the district of Karang Asĕm, but in a time of war with Bulèlèng the people moved *en masse* to the present sites in the Bangli district, bringing with them their lontars, sacred objects, and the rules for their whole complex social organization. In Bu'ungan the rules for twins are reported as follows:

[539] If anyone bears twins which are two males or two females (*anak kembar*), as soon as these children are aged one month and seven days and as soon as the ceremony *tutug kambuhan* has taken place, at once must be the ceremony *mĕsakap* (*matĕlah-tĕlah dĕsă*) at the crossroads, performed by the *balyan konèng* (trance-doctor). The offerings are the same as enumerated for marriage which wrongs the adat.

After three days the *kramă dĕsă* (group of villagers) must *mĕlis*, and the twins with the mother and father receive holy water (*mĕlukat*) to be freed from their uncleanness (*sĕbĕl*).

The expenses of this and also of the *pĕmĕndak Batarĕ* (the reception of the gods) on their return from *mĕlis* are all to the account of those who have the twins.

*845 809 825 Before we consider the rules for *manak salah*, it will be well to note what is said about wrong marriages in Bu-ungan, where the *mĕsakap*, *mĕlis*, and *pĕmĕndak Batarĕ* correspond with those for twins of like sex. It is in such connection that one wonders if the whole twin superstition does not rest, not on the idea of incest itself, but on the same basis as that for incest taboos — the concept of the way of animals in contradistinction to the way of men. For if it is the way of animals to mate with their near relatives, it is also their way to have more than one child at a time. Twins of like sex are already bad because they are born like beasts, and twins of unlike sex are worse because of the incestuous connotation, the improper intimacy of brother and sister in the womb. The Bu'ungan report definitely states the thought-connection of animals with incest:

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As regards all marriages which are thought to bring famine to the village and to make dirty the temples, according to the adat of Bu'ungan the behavior of the people who commit this wrong is thought to be just as the behavior of animals.

For example when it happens that someone marries the mother of his cousin (*rĕramă di misan*), or the mother of his second cousin (*rĕramă di mindon*), on the male or on the female side, they must have the ceremony *mĕsakap* at the crossroads of the village with the following offerings:

a. *Panchă-limă*
bèbèk bĕlang kalung (duck)
in the center, *nasi wong-wongan tumpĕng 10*
one small *sorohan*
offered to the earth (*ibu pĕrtiwi*).

b. Pig, chopped
sorohan agung (large)
other offerings which go with it, making a high altar (*pang-gungan*) as a place for these offerings to the Sun-god, *Suryă*.

As soon as the *balian konèng* has dedicated (*ngantĕb*) these offerings facing East as he should, at this time the man and the woman who have committed the wrong together crawl on all fours, their necks hung with the bar of bamboo in the manner of animals (pigs), the man from the south and the woman from the north approaching a *palungan* (drinking trough) made from a *dadap* tree, which has been filled with the water in which rice was washed (pig-food), the two, man and woman together drink the rice-water in the drinking trough.

The report states that before this incest rite the man and the woman must remain for a month and seven days outside the village, to the north (whereas for *manak salah* the time of banishment is the same, but the place to the south of the village). Three days after the *mĕsakap* the whole group *gĕbog satak* of two hundred villagers must *mĕlis* to a meeting of rivers, carrying with them not only the gods but all the possessions of the temple including the gamelan. All are purified with holy water from a *bujanggă*.

On the return from *mĕlis*, the reception of the gods is

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588 684 celebrated with offerings of a pig and *sorohan agung*, and performance of the *baris* dance. A feast is given to the *kramă dĕsă* by the family of the incestuous pair. After this the two are banished from the village for a year, not allowed even to enter the precincts of the *gĕbog satak*. The penalty [782] if they disobey is the offering of a pig to the temple Pură Balé Agung and of a goat to the temple Pură Dalĕm Pingit. When the year is up they may return to the village and must go through the usual marriage ceremonies. In case the family concerned is not able to pay all these expenses [958] the village takes them over, seizing or putting in pawn all their lands until the amount is repaid.

For more serious incest, as of a man with his brother's mother, his own mother or sister, the ceremony *mĕsakap* is the same, but there must also be the ceremonies *ngĕlungah* and *mĕsadi* as for *manak salah*. The people are banished from the village for life, and the lands of the family may be seized on the male or on the female side.

We now come to the rules for *manak salah*:

*845 539 782 If anyone bears *anak bunching*, male-female, it is called *manak salah*. The people of the village-quarter (*kramă banjar*) must move these people (the mother and the father and the two *anak salah*) to the outskirts of the village, on the south side, near the graveyard, with the entire house where the children were born, which must be taken apart and put up again outside the village. The people of the *banjar* take their turns helping, but in the matter of food the 'wrong ones' must make their own provision. The 'wrong ones' stay there one month and seven days.

When twelve days have elapsed after the birth of the children, the ceremony *ngĕlungah* (small *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah*) takes place inside the house-court where the children were born. Offerings *panchă limă*, celebrated by *balian konèng*, holy water from the *bujanggă*.

As soon as one month and seven days are up, the ceremony *mĕsadi* (big *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah*) takes place before the temple Pură Pĕnataran in the village of the people with the twins. The ceremony requires one small male pig and one female calf whose nose has not yet been punctured for the rope, skinned and spread

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out on the ground, together with offerings *sorohan agung* and *bayang-bayang*, all to be set out on the ground facing south, to be offered up to the gods of the sea and of the earth (*pĕrtiwi*). And one white goose, skinned and spread out with offerings *sorohan agung* are placed in the *sanggar tawang* (bamboo altar) for Batară Suryă (sun). One female black goat, a duck *bĕlang kalung*, chickens of five colors (*manchă warnă*) are placed according to the five colors, white to the East, red to the South, yellow to the West, black to the North, and many-colored in the center, together with *sorohan panchă* to be offered to these gods: Iswară, Brahmă, Mahadéwă, Wisnu and Siwă. After this to the *bută-bută*, the demons. Then one full-grown black pig skinned and spread out with *sorohan agung*, *bĕbangkit*, *suchi*, and all the various offerings which must accompany it, are placed in the *panggungan* to be offered to Batară . . . . . (the god of the temple). During this time Batară Sakti Bujanggă is invited to descend, to be present before the temple where the holy water is asked for. The *balian konèng* performs the ceremony called *ngantĕb*, (to deliver the essence of) these offerings.

As soon as the *ngantĕb* is over the people with twins receive holy water, and their house is also burned on the spot. Then they may return to the village, for their uncleanness (*sĕbĕl*) is erased.

Three days after this, the *kramă dĕsă* (group of villagers) must *mĕlis*, following all the gods to be purified. The entire *kramă gĕbog satak* (200) go to *mĕlis*. The reception of the gods on their return and the putting them away is the same as was described above for marriages against the adat.

As regards the expenses of all the ceremonies, it is said that they are evenly divided, half to fall on the *kramă dĕsă* and half on the people with twins.

So much for Bu'ungan. In Lumbuan, the other old village whose adat is covered in the *Bhawanagara* report, if *anak kĕmbar*, twins of like sex, are born, the ceremony *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah* is the same as that required in cases of *salah pati*, when a man hangs himself. Although for the suicide the house must be taken down and burned at the graveyard,

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this does not seem to be necessary for the twins of like sex. The ceremony takes place before the house where the disaster occurred, one month and seven days after the event, and includes building the *panggungan* in which *sorohan agung* and a pig are offered, and before this on the ground the chickens of five colors, the duck *bĕlang kalung* (white collared), a dog *bĕlang bungkĕm* (red and black with a white mouth) and a goat, set out in the five directions. Here it is called *mĕcharu*, for the *kală bută* (demons). The Pĕmangku officiates, prayers are made to the gods of the temple Pură Puseh Balé Agung, and the Pĕmangku asks for holy water with which to purify the house-court of the disaster and the whole village.

When *anak bunching*, boy and girl twins, are born, it is called *manak salah* for people of Jabă caste. The members of the *banjar* (village-quarter) beat the *kul-kul*, assemble, and remove the parents with the twins and their house to the outskirts of the village, where they must remain a month and seven days. The members of the *banjar* take turns watching over them. But for their food the family with the twins must be themselves responsible.

After one month and seven days, the ceremony for the purification of the village is held, called *mĕsadi*, with offerings for *mĕcharu* including a goat, a goose, a duck, a calf and a dog. They are set out as before, the Pĕmangku officiates, but the holy water is got from the Bujanggă. There are prayers to the gods of the temple Pură Puseh Balé Agung, and holy water is asked before the temple Pura Pĕnataran. Here also the people with the twins are purified (*mĕtĕlah-tĕlah*).

After twelve days all the gods of all the temples are carried out to be purified, as far as the boundary of the village to the North and the boundary of the village to the South. This is called *ngĕlungah*.

The expenses of the *mĕsadi* are taken over by the village if the parents of the twins are too poor, but later they must repay the village.

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It will be noted that the offerings for *manak salah* in such an old village as Lumbuan are extensive, including, as regards the animal offerings, a goat, goose, duck, calf, dog, pig, and five chickens. Many of these are to be of special "colors" and are often difficult to find. Still stricter are the villages of Sukawanã, Trunyan, and Taro, where a *kẽbo* (water-buffalo) must also be used. But in most of the villages of South Bali the five chickens, duck, pig and dog are considered sufficient for the *mẽcharu*. There is in existence, however, a lontar which surpasses all bounds in this respect, giving instructions for the use of a tiger and a rhinoceros in the consummate *mẽcharu*! This curious document is in the possession of a Sẽngguhu in the village of Tonjã, near Dèn Pasar. Much of it seemed obscure to the owner himself. I shall try to quote from it.

The lontar called *Indik Manak Salah*, says: "If each has a placenta this affronts the (Rajã) Idã Dalẽm, it is necessary to purify (*mẽrestistã*) the country. Such is the purification ceremony (*pẽngẽlungahan*) for *manak salah* born in the village, by order of the kings of Bali". At great length the offerings are enumerated, the various sorts of coconuts, the array of clothes, for both men and women, the offerings of elaborate composition containing rice, fruit, flowers, thread, money, spices, and palm-leaf decorations, each of which is known by its individual name, and the number of *kèpèng's* (cash) which must appear among each set, and which the Bujanggã takes for himself after the ceremony. Some of these are to be dedicated at the Balé Agung, some at the house, some at the *mẽlis* or *mẽkiis* to the sea. Among the offerings at the house are a plough, and the instrument with which the earth of fields is smoothed over. In connection with this the Sẽngguhu told me, although it is not written in the text, that the custom was in the case of *manak salah* for the inside of the courtyard where the unlucky birth took place to be ploughed up, and then smoothed over, using a *yos branã* and an *anggrèk ulan* — a black water buffallo born from a white mother and a white one born from a black mother! He said that in case

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these animals were not to be found, the parents of the twins must themselves be hitched to the plough. The use of the two rare buffalo for the occasion of a big *mĕcharu* was verified by the *sĕngguhu nabé*, the teacher, of Pějatèn, but he had not heard of hitching up the parents, only saying their legs were to be tied up lightly with threecolored thread. The three colored thread is mentioned in this lontar.

Other offerings at the *mĕlis* are a roast pig, a duck, and five chickens, a new fan such as is used in the kitchen, a new clay cooking pot. At the house must be also a roast pig, duck, five chickens, and four new pots. And at the Balé Agung a roast pig, two ducks, five chickens, the throne to the Sun god. It is repeated many times that the Bujanggă gets 1700 *kèpèng's*, at the *ngĕlungah*, at the return to the house from the *mĕlis*, etc., but the order of the writing is so confused that it is hard to tell how often this fee is to be payed. He gets also many of the offerings, and after officiating at the *désă* temple, on return from *mĕlis*, he gets 3200 *kèpèng's* and an entire set of clothes. At this time, among other things, fifteen ducks, twenty-five chickens, a pig, and five ducklings are offered. And the water used for purification is of eleven kinds, including that from the sea, from the lake, and from the various sorts of springs.

The lontar then states that the people with twins (*manak salah bunching kĕmbar*) must be banished by the villagers for forty-two days, and must pay for the offerings *amanchă-sangă panggung*, one *panggung* or altar-full to be placed on land surrounded by water, on the edge of the village, beside the bridge, at the crossroads, at the *balé* where the birth took place, at the Balé Agung, at a meeting of three roads, and at the house. When the gods are carried to the sea there are more offerings on the sea shore and on the return to the *désă* temple.

"Do not be short of the way of this writing", it says, "lest twins be born again. According to the birth of the people, the way of the ceremony must be, high for the high, middle for the middle, low for the low.

"If there is *mĕcharu* at the Balé Agung of the whole

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country, at each *banjar* must be a small *pĕngĕlungahan*, outside the house small offerings... at the household shrine ... at the Balé Agung must be the great *mĕcharu ékadasă ludră* with buffalo, cow, tiger, rhinoceros, the contents of the forest, the contents of the sea, the contents of the rice-fields, a complete set, with metal and gold and gilded cloth ... If the ceremony is *mĕpanchă walikramă*, five, if *mĕwrĕspati kalpă* three times the animals (are reduplicated), if *yamă rĕsigană saptă* five, if *mepanchă kĕlud* once, for each, the low, middle and high, a dog of three colors. The descendant of the Bujanggă officiates".

These are the names for the various forms or levels of the *mĕcharu*, *ékadasă ludră* the highest, *mepanchă kĕlud* the lowest. The sense of this passage seems to be that the highest-born people should have the most elaborate *mĕcharu*, which includes the buffalo, cow, tiger, rhinoceros, etc. Lower people would be content with less, and their offerings would be acceptable because of their inability to provide more. One can interpret the *ékadasă ludră*, which carries the meaning of 'ten times', even to reduplication of the tiger, buffalo, etc. ten times. But more probably the reduplication refers only to lower animals such as chickens and ducks. There are many names for *mĕcharu*, and their requirements vary according to the 'authority'. For instance, the Sĕngguhu priest called *Juru Rĕsi* in Lod-tunduh (district Ubud) has a lontar in which *ékadasă ludră* calls for 26 buffalo, and is to be celebrated at Bĕsakih. Nothing is said about tigers and rhinoceros. According to his text the *charu's* are: *panchă sanak*, the lowest,

panchă kĕlud, with goat and goose
balik sumpah, with cow and pig
taur gĕntuh, with one buffalo
sapuh sapuh, with three buffalo
panchă walikramă, with five buffalo
ékadasă ludră, with 26 buffalo
mĕnyĕgjĕg bumi, with 46 buffalo,

this last only celebrated at the time the country was "made to stand". Both this Sĕngguhu and the one from Tonjă

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admitted that their rules were obsolete, "for tigers are now too hard to find. The rhinoceros, they said, must have come from Java (which means to the Balinese any country outside of Bali), for it has never been known in Bali.

After the naming of the various sorts of *charu's* the Tonjă lontar straightway gives a *mantră* or prayer to the *kală bută*, the demons. This, with the *mantră* to Siwă which comes at the end, the Sĕngguhu was unwilling to read out, whether from ignorance of the old language or from fear of the consequences should the magic words be sounded under inappropriate circumstances, I was unable to discover. The lontar is considered very sacred, and offerings had to be made before it could be 'opened'. After the prayer to the demons, the lontar continues:

"This is the law for wrong birth, *bunching kĕmbar* female-male, they must be banished by the villagers to the big crossroads for forty-two days, they must pay for the set of offerings. The offerings are given at the Balé Agung to purify the country, offered to all the gods. The gods are placed on the Balé Panjang (the Balé Agung, here denoting the long platform, to distinguish it from the temple which is called after it Pură Balé Agung). All the Pĕmangkus are called. All the people must make offerings to all the gods in the temples *désa* (= Balé Agung), *dalĕm, pusĕh, pĕnataran, mĕlanting ring pasar* (the market.) When the gods come out, an uncastrated pig must be sacrificed before the big inner gate of the temple.

"This is the story if anyone has twins born *bunching kĕmbar*, exactly as these letters have given it. If anyone does not follow it he will have twins *bunching* again. Beware lest he have them three times."

A *mantră* to Siwă ends the lontar.

The Balinese, as a people in great part illiterate, have an exaggerated respect for the written word. They take the lontars most seriously, considering the prescriptions voiced in them to be as law — a law sometimes obsolete, obscure, unexplainable, but still holding in its content the right way. This in spite of the many disparities which, as

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we have found, exist between one text and another, and the illogical, confused order, even contradictions, appearing within a single text. It is to be said, however, that there is no reason why the texts originating in different districts should coincide, for these were in the old days under the rule of different princes. As the years went by each royal family developed its laws independently, and as we have seen, the people considered the laws for *manak salah* to come from the king. And the custom within individual villages would tend to take on its own character, for there was and still is little connection between the doings of one village and the next. The position of the Sĕngguhu is curious, for as these priests are rare, they generally have to be called from a distant village to officiate in the village where they are needed. Then, although they may have their own rules to be followed, they merely play their role according to the custom of the village which has engaged them. In Taro, where twins were born three times within two years because the disaster occurred in three different families, each of these chose to call in a different Sĕngguhu priest. But the way of the ceremony remained the same, following the laws of Taro. So that in the case of the lontar of the Sĕngguhu in Tonjă, it is possible that it would never be referred to except when *manak salah* happened in that very village.

Out of the confusion which a study of a single ritual has shown to exist in Bali, I can draw no conclusions. I can only hope that scholars on examining the data will find it useful in reconstructing a picture of the early culture of Bali, and by comparison with other material be able to judge whether or not the roots of the custom pertaining to twins lie in pre-Hindu times.

Sayan, Bali, Sept. 1, 1934.

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[For a comprehensive study of customs, beliefs and ceremonies associated with the birth of twins in Bali, see category 116, pp. 483-516, 518-540, and 542-549.]

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Sentana

A young man, generally a younger son, who marries the daughter of a man without sons, and becomes the successor of his father-in-law.